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THE MESSAGE OF PHILO JUDÆUS

Of Alexandria

KENNETH SYLVAN GUTHRIE

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PREFACE.

There is need of explanation for irruption into a field studied by Daehne, Gfroerer, and Drummond. It is evident that Drummond makes a fresh introduction to Philo's philosophy unadvisable. If there be any justification for this attempt, it must lie elsewhere.

I. Many thoughtful persons have wished to become acquainted at first hand with Philo; and yet the scarceness of Yonge's translation, the expense of Drummond's work, the extensiveness of Philo's writings, and the lack of pointers as to where to search for the grains of gold scattered in that interminable forest of words have discouraged many. There seemed to be need of a brief classified outline of the most important of Philo's utterances, with rigorous references which might enable "him who runs" "to read."

II. The mystic glamor of allegorical interpretation needs the surgeon's knife and miscroscope, cruel though they may be, to appraise it at its true value. This becomes all the more necessary as the mystically inclined reader might be tempted to false enthusiasm when access to Philo is made so easy; in the past the undeniable aversion to exertion of such temperaments availed to limit them to a few attractive quotations.

The writer's life-long studies on the development of comparative religion forced him to clear up the attitude and significance of this writer whom Providence placed at so critical a period of religious progress. This study on Philo might, therefore, be regarded as one of a series of the texts of comparative religion.

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PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA:
LIFE AND WORKS.

INTRODUCTION.

1. LIFE.

PHILO (Judaeus) was probably born B. C. 20, in Alexandria[1], of a sacerdotal family[2] and taught the usual Jewish instruction[3], though he uses none but the Septuagint version of the Scriptures, with all its variations from the Hebrew, and hence apparently poorly trained in Hebrew (Scaliger, Cudworth, Geiger). His family must have been prominent[4] inasmuch as his brother Alexander Lysimachus was employed in affairs of government as Alabarch at Alexandria[5], and may (doubtfully) have been the Alexander of Acts iv, 6, "of the kindred of the high priest"; at any rate he was the foremost Jew there.[6]

His education[7] extended to grammar, philosophy, geometry, music and poetry, and his accomplishments were attested to by his wife who when asked why she alone of all her sex did not wear any golden ornaments replied, "The virtue of a husband is a sufficient ornament for his wife."[8]

We know of three journeys of his.

The first was to Jerusalem "to offer up prayers and sacrifices in the temple."[9] This was no doubt at the period of his literary activity, before 38 A. D.[10]

About January 40, A. D., with five companions, Philo, then perhaps sixty years old, was sent on an embassy to the Emperor Caligula at Rome, to plead the cause of the Alexandrian Jews against Apion, who charged them with refusing to pay the honors due to Caesar.[11]

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He wrote his account of that embassy about 50 A. D., in the tenth year of Claudius[12], at Alexandria no doubt.

He visited Rome once more during this reign; and hereafter we know no more about him.

He is said to have been acquainted with Peter[13] and even to have been a Christian[14]; his Therapeuts were positively identified by Eusebius[15] (and, perhaps founding themselves on Eusebius, Jerome and Photius) as the original Christian community converted by St. Mark. All this is doubted by Wendland,[15] who should be consulted.

2. WORKS.

To get a clear idea of Philo's philosophy, we must try and realize that Philo philosophised only incidentally to his interpretation of Scripture; hence the following attempt to systematize his views is the exact opposite of the arrangement in which they are found, interspersed here and there, with little order. Philo did not write a commentary on each verse of Scripture, but wrote short treatises, one leading up to the next, on various more attractive or difficult points, in fair chronological order.

Here follows a list of his works, with the initials by which references will here be given. This list will give the reader a fairer idea of the spirit and drift of Philo, than pages of commentary.

VOLUME I.

MO—On the Creation of the World.
LA—On the Allegories of the Sacred Laws.
Ch—On the Cherubim; on the Flaming Sword, on the First-born child of Man.
GC—Of Cain and his Birth.
SAC—On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain.
QDPI—On the principle that the Worse is accustomed to be always plotting against the Better.
PC—On the Posterity of Cain.
G—On the Giants.
QDI—On the Unchangeableness of God.
AN—On the Tilling of the Earth by Noah.

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PN—About the Planting of Noah.
E—On Drunkenness.
S—On Sobriety.

VOLUME II.

CL—On the Confusion of Languages.
MA—On the Migration of Abraham.
QHDR—On the Question who is the Heir of Divine Things.
CEG—On the Meeting for the Sake of Receiving Instruction.
P—On Fugitives.
MN—On the Question why certain Names in the Holy Scriptures are Changed.
So—On the Doctrines that Certain Dreams are sent by God.
A—On the Life of the Wise Man made Perfect by Instruction; on the Unwritten Law; Abraham.
Jo—On the Life of the Man occupied with affairs of State, Joseph.

VOLUME III.

VM—On the Life, Theology and Prophecy of Moses, I, II, III.
DC—Ten Commandments, which are the Heads of the Law.
C—On Circumcision.
M—On Monarchy, I, II.
QPHP—On the Question what are the Rewards and Honors of the Priests.
ASI—On Animals fit for Sacrifice, or Victims.
Sa—On those who Offer Sacrifices.
MM—On the Commandment that the Wages of a Harlot are not to be Received into the Sacred Treasury.
LS—On Special Laws, III, IV, V.
DO—To show Festivals are Ten in Number.
EPP—Of the Festival of the Basket of First-fruits.
HP—On the Honor Commanded to be paid to Parents.
SL—On Special Laws, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X.
Ju—On Justice.

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CP—On the Creation of Magistrates.
F,H,R—On three Virtues: Courage, Humanity, Repentance.
PP—On Rewards and Punishments.
Ex—On Curses.
N—On Nobility.
QRDH—To Prove that Every Man who is Virtuous is also Free.

VOLUME IV.

VC—On Contemplative Life, or Virtues of Suppliants.
MI—On the Incorruptibility of the World.
Fl—Against Flaccus (Governor of Egypt).
Ca—On the Virtues and Office of Ambassadors, addressed to Caius (Caligula).
M—Concerning the World.
FrJD—Fragments from the Parallels of John of Damascus.
FrMM—Fragments from a Monkish Manuscript.
FrA—Fragments preserved by Antonius.
FrOx—Fragments from Oxford Bodleiom Library MSS.
FrFrK—Fragments from unpublished Paris MSS.
QG—Volume of Questions in Genesis, and Solutions.

NOTE—References are given in duplicate, the first group being volume and page of Yonge's 4 volume English Translation (Bohn); the second being the above initials of the works, with section. For example: 1.152-LA 3.59. Semicolons are used to separate references from each other.

3. SUMMARY OF PHILO'S STANDPOINT.

Possibly it may be of value to recapitulate the most important influences that contributed to produce Philo's standpoint:

(a) Loyalty to Judaism, which considered a Jew the only nobleman of nature, and desertion of Judaism, the unpardonable sin.

(b) Unwarying devotion to the Hebrew scriptures as the eternal norm of orthodoxy, and philanthropy.

(c) A youth inspired by generous visions and friendships with like-minded visionaries, gradually fading into a maturer age preoccupied with political duties and perplexities.

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(d) Learning the beauties and moral profundities of Greek culture.

(e) A sincere desire to "save" non-Jews, by interpreting for them the Jewish text in the light of their own learning.

(f) The *sanctified common-sense of compromise,* or adaptation to the exigencies of the times—which, it must be confessed, were imperious enough.

(g) Last, to Philo's credit be it said, he never slipped beyond the line of sanity, holding fast to the outer bond of nationality and orthodoxy; no doubt he was nailed to his cross, but that nail held him from falling. He never committed the capital crime of sinning against himself, of limiting his own usefulness, by separating himself from his associates. This virtue of his will continue to commend him to all ages as sane, constructive, and helpful.

How difficult it is to hold together firmly the apparently contradictory truths that all intellectual progress comes from regardless analysis and that the language of the Spiritual world is allegory! Is it possible that the solution of this difficulty might be that it is our duty to use practically in our lives our own day's most searching scholarship as allegory? In that case let us remember that allegory is valid only for the age in which it occurs, and that it must never be permitted to delay the march of the progress of reason.

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CHAPTER I.—PHILO HIMSELF.

1. PHILO'S OWN EXPERIENCES.

Philo teaches allegory because he himself has seen visions in inspirational condition. These his experiences form therefore the basis on which his whole system rests:[1]

"I am not ashamed to relate what has happened to me myself, which I know from having experienced it ten thousand times. Sometimes, when I have desired to come to my usual employment of writing on the doctrines of philosophy, though I have known accurately what it was proper to set down, I have found my mind barren and unproductive, and have been completely unsuccessful in my object, being indignant in my mind for the uncertainity and vanity of its then existing opinions, and filled with amazement at the power of the living God, by whom the womb of the soul is at times opened, and at times closed up; and sometimes when I have come to my work empty I have suddenly become full, ideas being, in an invisible manner showered upon me, and implanted in me from on high; so that, through the influence of divine inspiration, I have become greatly excited, and have known neither the place in which I was, nor those who were present, nor myself, nor what I was saying, nor what I was writing; for then I have been conscious of a richness of interpretation, an enjoyment of light, a most penetrating sight, a most manifest energy in all that was to be done, having such an effect on my mind as the clearest ocular demonstration would have on the eyes."

No doubt it was from his own experience that he wrote the three glowing passages on the ascent of the Soul; but in his older years, these youthful ecstasies were reduced to temporary visions:[2]

"There was once a time when, devoting my leisure to philosophy and contemplation of the world and the things in it, I reaped the fruit of excellent and desirable and blessed intellectual feelings, being always living among the divine oracles and doctrines on which I fed incessantly and insatiably, to my great delight, never entertaining any low or grovelling thoughts, nor ever wallowing in the pursuit of glory or wealth, or the delights of the body, but I appeared to be raised on high and borne aloft by a certain inspiration of the soul, and to dwell in the regions of the sun and moon, and to associate with the whole heaven, and the whole universal world.

"At that time, therefore, looking down from above, from the air, and straining the eye of my mind, as from a watch-tower, I surveyed the unspeakable contemplation of all things on the earth, and looked upon myself as happy as having forcibly escaped

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from all the evil fates that can attack human life. Nevertheless, the most grievous of all evils was lying in wait for me, namely, envy, that hates everything that is good, and which suddenly attacking me, did not cease from dragging me after it till it had taken me and thrown me into the vast sea of the cares of public politics, in which I was and still am tossed about without being able to keep myself swimming at the top. But though I groan at my fate, I still hold out and resist, retaining in my soul that desire of instruction which has been implanted in it from my earliest youth; and this desire taking pity and compassion on me continually raises me up and alleviates my sorrow. And it is through this fondness of learning that I at times lift up my head, and with the eyes of my soul, which are indeed dim (for the mist of affairs, wholly inconsistent with their proper objects, has overshadowed their acute clear-sightedness), still, as well as I may, I survey all the things around me being eager to imbibe something of a life which shall be pure and unalloyed by evils.

"And if at any time unexpectedly there shall arise a brief period of tranquility, and a short calm and respite from the troubles, which arise from state affairs, I then rise aloft and float above the troubled waves, soaring as it were in the air, and being, I may almost say, blown forward by the breezes of knowledge, which often persuades me to flee away, and to pass all my days with her, escaping as it were from my pitiless masters, not men only, but also affairs which pour upon me from all quarters, and at all times like a torrent. But even in these circumstances I ought to give thanks to God that though I am so overwhelmed by this flood, I am not wholly sunk and swallowed up in the depths. But I open the eyes of my soul, which from an utter despair of any good hope had been believed to have been before now wholly darkened, and I am irradiated with the light of wisdom, since I am not given up for the whole of my light to darkness."

2. MOSES.

Moses was the greatest and most perfect man that ever lived;[3] he is the *choragus,* or leader in the chorus—king, high priest, legislator and prophet.[4] His laws are divine, as complete; they are based on laws of nature, and hence immortal, and it may be hoped they will last as long as sun, moon, heaven and world shall endure. He is the most admirable of all the lawgivers who ever lived in any country amid Greek or barbarians.[5] His like had not arisen, having seen the Lord face to face, founded on Dt. xxxiv. 10.[6] His words are throughout spoken of as the divine oracles.

Philo speaks of him as "the most perfect Moses, full of wisdom, strength, and beloved by God."[7]

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Philo has been initiated in the great mysteries by Moses.[8] He calls himself a disciple of Moses.[9]

3. JEREMIAH—INDIVIDUALISM.

Subsequently to Philo's devotion to Moses was that to Jeremiah.[10]

"For I, myself, having been initiated in the great mysteries by Moses, the friend of God, nevertheless when I subsequently beheld Jeremiah the prophet, and learned that he was not only initiated into the sacred mysteries, but was also a competent hierophant or expounder of them, did not hesitate to become his pupil."

Philo was therefore not bound exclusively to Moses, and might as easily have left Jeremiah later.

Indeed, it would be impossible to limit Philo to any one school.[11].

"But when God causes new shoots of self-taught wisdom to spring up in the soul then it behooves us immediately to circumscribe and to contract the things which we have acquired from instruction, which of their own accord do return and flow back to their source. For it is impossible that one who is a follower, a friend, or a disciple of God or any other name which one may think fit to call him, should tolerate mortal lessons."

4. MELCHIZEDEK.

Indeed we find Philo speaking of Melchizedek as follows:[12]

"Moreover God made Melchizedek the king of peace, that is, of Salem, for that is the interpretation of this name, 'his own high priest,' Gen. xiv. 18, without having previously mentioned any particular action of his, but merely because he had made him a king, and a lover of peace, and especially worthy of his priesthood. For he is a just king, and a king is the opposite of a tyrant, because the one is the interpreter of the law, and the other of lawlessness."

"But Melchizedek shall[13] bring forward wine instead of water, and shall give your souls to drink, and shall cheer them with unmixed wine in order that they may be wholly occupied with a divine intoxication more sober than sobriety itself. For reason is a priest, having as its inheritance the true God, and entertaining lofty and sublime and magnificent ideas about him, 'for he is the priest of the Most High God.'"

"And the Sacred Scripture[14] which was written after the prayers on occasion of victory, which Melchizedek, who had received a self-instructed and self-taught priesthood, makes, says, 'For he gave him a tenth of all the things.'"

"Who then[15] is the chief butler of God? The priest who offers libations to him, the truly great high priest, who having received a draught of everlasting graces, offers himself in return pouring in an entire libation full of unmixed wine. . . . But the

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high priest of whom we are speaking is a perfect man, the husband of a virgin."

"And when[16] the great high priest of the most high God beheld him returning."

5. PLATO.

It is needless to remark how deeply Philo had drunk at the Platonic spring—the world of ideas, the virtues, part of his psychology, God as the Good, and many more characteristic points. However, for the most part, Philo accepts it so thoroughly, and uses it so naturally, as to appear unconscious of the source. Nevertheless, he calls Plato the sweetest of all writers,[17] and cites from him repeatedly.[18] Plato[19] is quoted as saying that the mouth is a place where mortal things find an entrance, and immortal things their exit. It is needless to suggest the closeness of this to the main idea of Porphyry in his "On the Cave of the Nymphs." In connection with the banquets of the Therapeuts, Xenophon's "Banquet of Plato" and his discourse on divine love[20] are mentioned.

6. TO WHAT KIND OF SECT DID PHILO BELONG?

Philo describes the Essenes in Palestine,[21] and possibly the Therapeuts near the Mareotic Lake by Alexandria.[22] The uncertainty about the latter makes it all the more doubtful that Philo belonged to them, especially as he was so prominent and active in political affairs, as to be one of the ambassadors to Caligula, and author of *Ad Caium* and *Ad Flaccum*.[23]

In any case, Philo was not alone in his views. Everywhere[24] he mentions the figurative interpretations of *certain persons*. To him the company of the wise is the especial inheritance of God,[25] and they may have been those who philosophised on the seventh day.[26] Again,[27]

"God wishing to send down from heaven to the earth an image of his divine virtue out of compassion for our race, that it might not be destitute of a more excellent portion, and that he might thus wash off the pollutions which defile our miserable existence, so full of all dishonor, established his Church amongst us."

It would seem as if Philo was conscious that his own

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type of Judaism (and that of his anonymous brethren) differed from other types of Judaism:[28]

"Surely the instructions which we have received from our childhood, and our natorial customs and ancient laws, of which it is admitted that there is not a single one which is of equal force among all people; but it is notorious that they vary according to the different countries, and nations, and cities, aye, and even still more in every village and private house, and even with respect to men and women and infant children, in almost every point. At all events what are accounted disgraceful actions among us, are by others looked upon as honorable; what we think becoming, others call unseemly; what we pronounce just, others renounce as iniquitious; others think our holy actions impious, our lawful deeds lawless; and further what we think praiseworthy, they find fault with; what we think worthy of all honor is, in the eyes of others, deserving of punishment; and in fact, they think most things to be of a contrary character to what we think."

If this passage refers to Judaism, it means that there were serious schisms within it; and if Moses was the universally recognized Jewish lawgiver, it implies reverence (possibly coexistent, as esoteric) for some other hero—such as Melchizedek might well be. The passage therefore suggests Melchizedekianism as the esoteric characteristic of Philo's sect of exoterically Mosaic Judaism.

In the following passage Philo seems to find fault with ascetics; with flouting of the world's opinion; hence rendering any closer association with Therapeuts unlikely. Philo represents therefore *sanctified compromise.*[29] In this passage therefore Philo openly finds fault with Plato for the passage in the *Republic* suggesting that the entirely wise man must necessarily be persecuted and ultimately crucified.

"The fourth gift of God is to have a great name (Gen. xii. 2). This means that "as to be good is honorable, so also to appear to be so is advantageous. And truth is better than appearance, but perfect happiness is when the two are combined. For there are great numbers of people who apply themselves to virtue in genuine honesty and sincerity, and who admire its genuine beauty, having no regard to the reputation which they may have with the multitude, and who in consequence have been plotted against, being thought wicked when they are in reality good. . . . . But the man to whom God has given both things, namely, both to be good and virtuous, and also to appear so, that man is truly happy, has a name which is really magnified.

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And one must have a prudent regard for a good reputation as a thing of great importance, and one which greatly benefits the life which is dependent on the body. And it falls to the lot of everyone who, rejoicing with contentment, changes none of the existing laws, but zealously preserves the constitution of his native land. For there are some men who, looking upon written laws as symbols of things appreciable by the intellect, have studied some things with superfluous accuracy, and have treated others with neglectful indifference; whom I should blame for their levity; for they ought to attend to both classes of things, applying themselves both to an accurate investigation of invisible things, and also to an irreproachable observance of those laws which are notorious. But now men living solitarily by themselves as if they were in a desert, or else as if they were mere souls unconnected with the body, and as if they had no knowledge of any city, or village, or house; or, in short, of any company of men whatever, overlook what appears to the many to be true, and seek for plain naked truth by itself whom the sacred scripture teaches not to neglect a good reputation, and not to break through any established customs which divine men of greater wisdom than any in our time have established."

"But it is the part of a perfect soul to set up a claim, not only to be, but also to appear to be; and to labor earnestly, not merely to have a good reputation in the houses of the men, but also in the secret chamber of the women."

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CHAPTER II.—ALLEGORIC INTERPRETATION AND MYSTERIES.

1. NECESSITY OF INTERPRETATION.

What is the need of any "interpretation" whatever? Why not accept the Scriptures in their simple, literal sense? Because we meet mistakes;[1] impossibilities;[2] incomprehensibilities;[3] foolishness;[4] meaningless statements;[5] inconsistencies;[6] falsities.[7]

But the principle of Philo, living before the day of investigation, was both socially (see last chapter) and intellectually, compromise, the inevitable standpoint of the only education possible in his day, whose result was knowledge of the good points of his opponents. Hence he takes refuge in a combination of his own and his opponents' good points into an *allegorical interpretation*[8]:

"Therefore, O my mind, if you in this manner investigate the holy thoughts of God with which man is inspired by divine agency and the laws of such men as love God, you will not be compelled to admit anything lowly, anything unworthy of their greatness."

Considering this principle of allegorism psychologically it is no doubt based on a certain amount of self-conceit. Each man thinks he has discovered a new treasure of meaning; and this principle gives room for any man to give his own interpretation; and does not impose any educational test: each man thinks his own education sufficient for his discoveries; and his discoveries flatter his own idea of his education. This explains why allegorism is a favorite in all early stages of civilization. And we see this in Philo's words:[9] "We must therefore have recourse to allegory, which is a favorite with men capable of seeing through it."

So allegorism is based on well-intentioned ignorance and is not a virtue, but a misfortune which should be destined perpetually to dwindle.

Considering the principle of allegorism technically, we find that the literal is only the shadow of the real;[10] each

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letter has both body and soul, the literal, and the allegorical[11] meaning.

While the necessity for interpretation noticed above leads the student to allegorism wherever it is absolutely demanded, the natural habitual course of human nature would extend it to a scorn of the literal everywhere; and of course leads ultimately to frank opposition to a sound literal scientific basis.

So we read:[12]

"In philosophy there is a set of word-traffickers and word-eaters who have neither the will nor the skill to heal a life which is full of infirmities, but who, from their very earliest infancy to the extremity of old age, are not ashamed to cavil and quibble, and wrangle, about figurative expressions, as if happiness consisted in an interminable and profitless minuteness of accuracy in the matter of nouns and verbs, and not in the improving and ameliorating the moral character, the true fountain of the person's disposition; and in expelling the vices, and driving them out of its boundaries, and establishing the virtues as settlers within them."

Consequently references to allegorical meanings are very frequent.[13]

2. PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS OF EGOTISM: PAGAN MYSTERIES.

We have seen that the basis of interpretation is well-meaning-ness, starting very properly in cases where reason fails, and then by habit extending very improperly to the field where reason might be employed, and ultimately antagonizing and scorning the employment of reason anywhere.

That Philo is here not misrepresented is shown in the result of this attitude: when reason as a guide of correctness is overwhelmed and dismissed, the only criterion of orthodoxy left is egotism: ortho-"doxy" is my "doxy," if you differ, it is you who are the heretic. This will appear more clearly by considering Philo's attitude to Mysteries. Philo is opposed to all "pagan" mysteries.[14]

"Moses also entirely removes out of his sacred code of laws all ordinances respecting invitations, and mysteries and all such trickery and buffoonery. . . . Let no one therefore of the disciples of Moses either be initiated himself into any mysterious rites of worship, or initiate anyone else for both the act of learning, and that of teaching such initiations is an impiety of no slight order."

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The reasons for this are twofold: limitation of the truth to a few, and doing things in the dark, whereas only evil things shun the day.

I. SECRECY.

"For if these things are virtuous and honorable and profitable why do ye, O men who are initiated[10], shut yourselves up in dense darkness. . . . do you not see that nature has concealed none of these works which one deserved by celebrated and honorable, but has exhibited openly the stars and the whole of heaven, etc.; . . . let there be freedom of speech, in the market places where they will meet the most numerous crowds, to display their own manner of life in the pure sun (by hearing speeches, etc.)."

II. LIMITATION.

"Why limit your benefits to just three or four men. . . . But now it very often happens that no good men at all are initiated by them, but that sometimes robbers, and wreckers, and companies of debauched and polluted women are, when they have given money enough to those who initiate them, and who reveal to them the mysteries which they call sacred."

3. MOSAIC MYSTERIES.

Philo was, however, as violently in favor of his own mysteries as he was opposed to the pagan rites.

Pagan mysteries he had opposed on the two grounds of secrecy and limitation; these very two principles he most approves of for his own work.

(a) SECRECY.

"Now I bid ye, initiated men, who are purified, as to your ears, to receive these things as mysteries which are really sacred into your inmost souls, and reveal them not to any who is of the number of the uninitiated, as a sacred treasure."[15] "There is also another opinion bruited about as something of a secret, which it is right to lay up in the ears of the elders not divulging it to the younger men."[16] Indeed this secrecy is so great about the *hidden things* "that they are invisible to those who are uninitiated."[17]

"Now to what soul could it have happened to conceal vice and to put it out of the way except to that soul to which God was revealed, and which he considered worthy to receive the revelation of his unspeakable mysteries."

"At all events he will now penetrate into 'the darkness where God was' (Ex. xx. 13). That is to say, into those unapproachable and invisible conceptions which are formed of the living God."

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(b) LIMITATION.

We have already shown there were some things "right to lay up in the ears of the elders, not divulging it to the younger men."[18] "How will (the bad man) be able to divulge the sacred mysteries unless he has the organ of voice?"[19] The "soul becoming initiated into the perfect mysteries" should not "be too ready to divulge the divine secrets to any one, but may treasure them up on herself, and keeping a check over her speech, may conceal them in silence; for the words of the Scripture are 'to make secret cakes;' because the sacred and mystic statements about the one and uncreated being, and about his powers ought to be kept secret; since it does not belong to every one to keep the deposit of divine mysteries properly."[20] See quotation under former section.[21] What is this worthiness then? "The wise man (not necessarily older) man is the elder."[22]

It is very evident, therefore, that Philo is a most pronounced partisan, and we must never lose sight of this in making our estimate of the intrinsic value of his teachings.

4. PHILO'S MYSTERIES.

(a) They are desirable. "If you ever meet with any one who has been properly initiated, cling to that man affectionally, and adhere to him, that if he has learnt any more recent mystery he may not conceal it from you before you have learnt to comprehend it thoroughly," and, "guard them as a sacred treasure."[23] We are to exercise ourselves in them even if we are not yet able to carry off the perfect prize of victory.

(b) Initiation may mean no more than education,[24] as in initiation into discussion and eloquence.[25] But sacred initiation entails purification,[26] which we will study later under baptism, etc. There are also *initiates*.[27]

(c) The hierophant is therefore an expounder.[28] What he expounds is the Scriptures, which are called continually the "well-judged" or "sacred" "oracles."[29]

(d) Moses is the steward and guardian of the sacred mysteries of the living God.[30]

(e) There were lesser and greater mysteries.[31] It

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has been suggested by some that Philo, like later Clement of Alexandria, meant by this no more than study of the Scriptures. This however is unlikely.

1. Even if the "De Vita Contemplativa" with its Therapeuts near Alexandria be removed from Philo's writings, the Essenes, as a definite organization, remain.[32]

2. Philo speaks of a church;[33] of an army of men and women;[34] of a person from whom one receives mysteries.[35] "For we should acknowledge only one relationship, namely a mutual zeal for the service of God, and a desire to say and do everything that is consistent with piety * * * for such men all lay claim to a more venerable and sacred kind of friendship."[36] Philo continually attributes special interpretations to certain unnamed persons;[37] he speaks of company of wise as special inheritance of God.[38]

3. There are lesser and greater mysteries;[39] also then recent ones.[40]

4. We have the subjects of some of the mysteries.

(a) That generation and creation were identical.[41] This would have avoided the Athanasio-Arian dispute.

(b) The great first cause; virtue; third, the generation of both.[42]

(c) About God and the powers in him: there is one equal to the others in honor, that is, the legislative one, which both rewards and punishes.[43]

(d) About God and his powers.[44] Evidently an attempt to save Jewish monotheism from the logical disruption into "many" of Herakleitos; an adumbration of the Trinity.

(e) About God appearing "as a threefold image of one subject, one image of the living God, and of the other two as if they were shadows irradiated by it." The Trinity.[45]

5. Exclusion from his mysteries[46] of all who do not have 1, piety; 2, baptism; 3, evidences of experiential joy and perseverance.

6. He himself acts as hierophant or expounder of sacred mysteries to certain qualified persons, not others.[47]

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7. Was his society oath-bound, with a permanent roll of members?[48]

On the whole therefore it would seem as if, temporarily at least, Philo had been associated with other like-minded members of mystic orders. However in his later years he probably dropped most, if not all outward connection with such associations.[49]

5. THE BASIC TWIN MYSTERIES.

That God and the world and man are all kindred was a commonplace, as Paul quoted from Cleanthes. Philo restates this[50] and logically it forms the spring for all knowledge about God. The means by which this principle produces knowledge of God is the application (alternate and fanciful) of two twin principles—namely, that God is like man (Gen. xxxi. 13), and that God is not like man (Numb. xxviii. 19). The first, figurately for instruction,[51] the second, really.[52] Had this distinction been held to firmly it would have saved most of the Arian controversy, which depended mainly upon the wilfulness with which these two principles were employed or rejected.

Of course it will be remembered that it was only by juggling with these two principles that both Athanasuis and Arius held to their own doctrines and refuted each other, each with the same success. At bottom of the controversy was of course fancy in application of these principles, which can be used to prove any statement whatever about God.

For Philo, however, these principles develop into his great hierarchic conception of the universe, founded on emanation or creation of like from like, founded on Platonism.

6. PLATONIC SIMILARISM.

The Platonic conception of an elder invisible eternal world of ideas from which the visible temporal world proceeded[53] (explaining the Biblical reference that the unseen things are eternal[54]) makes those ideas[55] as it were the Archetypal seal[56] in the wax of matter[57]. Or again, they or the Logos are models[58] or the die that stamps the coins[59].

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Succinct as this statement is, it furnishes the platonic key for the idea Philo had of all, creation, life, and progress, and should by the reader be remembered to the end as interpreting principle of every Philonic utterance.

7. DEGENERATION VERSUS EVOLUTION

While this Platonic Similarism is very beautiful in one sense, it has, however, one great limitation: it applies only to the physical world, in which, as modern science agrees, the law of Sufficient Reason is gradually causing a degradation of available world force, so that the most perfect was at the beginning, and the least perfect will be at the end of times.

When however Philo takes the attitude that the first man was best, and that since then a gradual degeneration has set in[60], then our modern view of ascending evolution takes an exactly contrary attitude; the perfect is not in the past, to be looked back to, but in the future and yet to be.

Philo therefore occupies a spiritual standpoint directly opposed to the modern principle of improvement, progress, and evolution. It need hardly be pointed out that unfortunately Philo is not alone in this antiquated attitude.

8. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF NUMBERS.

When we transport ourselves back into Philo's age, that had no recognized numerals to express numbers, but used only the usual letters of the alphabet which sometimes chanced to form words, therefor, it was only natural to look for some significance of perfection or imperfection in numbers, especially as Pythagoras had introduced this into philosophy. Philo, however, never went further; it remained for the *gematria* of the Qabalists to assert that words meant the same thing, because their letters totaled the same, if used as numbers.

Significance in numbers should not be looked on as a desirable mystery, but as the expression of the childishness of the race which did not yet possess numerals free from the associations of letters, and which should be left behind as soon as possible.

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CHAPTER III.—GOD.

We must never, in studying Philo's message, forget two important warnings.

First, we must not attempt to discover a logical, unvarying, coherent system of philosophy. We have already seen what Philo thought of any person who taught such literalism; and we may imagine what Philo would have thought of any person who should attempt to make an accurate, coherent, logical *system* out of his own views. And this could be done only by Procrustean methods. Philo's aim was not accurate literalism; he wished to edify.

Second, Philo's works were written at various periods of his changeful life. From period to period his views have altered; and indeed we find the old man, immersed in political activities, look back with envy at the visions of his youth. Besides there is no certainty about the chronology of many of his writings, so that we cannot trace any reliable development therein. There is nothing left us to do but to consider his views and writings as a composite picture from which to derive his message in as orderly fashion as may be consistent with fidelity.

1. THE UNITY OF GOD.

To the Unity of God Philo held tenaciously, as the bond that held him to official Judaism. God is the one true living God[1], the one fountain of life[2]; hence the "living" God.[3]

He is also the God "par excellence" *ho theos,* as distinguished from the Logos who is only *theos.*[4] He is beyond comprehension.[5] He is to the world what parents are to their children.[6] He has no need of anything[7]; he outstrips everything[8]; he can never stop creating.[9] "He himself is to himself everything that is most honorable—relative, kinsman, friend, virtue, prosperity, happiness, knowledge, understanding, beginning, end, universality, judge, opinion, intention, law, action, supremacy."[10] His activity may be called either begetting or creating, at will, and Philo considers this one of his mystic secrets,[11] thus fusing Egyptian Heliopolitan vio-

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lence—creation (and Hebrew creation) with Hermopolitan seed—logos—word Emanation; in this theory also introducing unity.

We are to go out of the city of Self and attribute all actions to God.[12] Reminding us of Gnosticism (Simon), God is the only being who stands firmly[13]; relying[14] on Dt v. 31, 'Stand here with me'; for He is the most ancient author of all things; and also[15] relying on Ex. xvii. 6; where we find introduced the idea of dwelling or standing on the "rock." So also Ex. xxiv. 10 expresses[16] the firmness of God. It is on this solid foundation that rests God's covenant (Gen. ix. 10) with man.

God produced the Universe as a father alone, without a mother.[17]

His existence is proved by teleology[18]; a Godless world would be like a flute blown by itself.[19]

God himself is uncreated.[20]

2. THE GOODNESS OF GOD.

God as one is the Platonic good, and cause of good only.[21] He is the unmingled good[22] and intermittent good.[23] Moreover is the most glorious of all things[24]; the most righteous being possible.[25] He is all happiness.[26]

His being the only possible Savior of man will be considered under the head of God's powers.

The cardinal doctrine of theology is the platonic one that God is good. For man to attribute his own evil to God as its cause is blasphemy, and the unpardonable sin.[27]

3. THE MANIFOLDNESS OF GOD.

It was in this that Philo held with Greek Philosophy, and later Alexandrian Hebraic development. So, God is conversing with his own virtues as instruments, as "us," as Elohim.[28] He is surrounded by many powers[29] which are subordinate, sitting by as assessors.[30] His daughters are the Graces.[31]

It would seem that these "powers" of God are hierarchically subordinated[32] to the Logos, being, as it were, "colonies" of that most excellent metropolis or city, "to flee to which is the most advantageous course of all."

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It may be suggested that this subordination of the divine powers to the Logos may be no more than a fusing of what may have been originally different conceptions: the Greco-Egyptian Logos with Jewish personification (Zoroastrian?) of good qualities (Is. xi. 2); giving all these names to the Logos naturally split the Logos into these personifications; again[33] the Logos seems to be the bond of Unity between divine Goodness and Authority, making the Logos logically prior to them "it is owing to reason—Logos that God is both a ruler and a good."

However, there is no doubt as to the subordination of these powers to the Supreme God of the universe: "The Supreme being is God, who has raised his head above all his powers, and who is beheld independently of them, and who makes himself visible in them."[34] "For the abrupt rock is the Wisdom of God, which being both sublime and the first of things he quarried out of his own powers."[35]

4. THE SECOND GOD OR LOGOS.

(a) Procession.

It may help us to understand Philo's conception of the divine Logos to notice his psychological opinion that a word is a shadow of a deed[36] so we find the Logos is the Shadow of God[37] as Mohammedans still hold. Hence, the Supreme *ho theos,* who is the fountain-head rock, is the deed of which the fountain is the shadow or word. So God "is the highest and most ancient authority of power, from which the creation of all existing things was shed forth, and the stream of wisdom flowed; 'for I am he who brought the stream of water out of the solid rock (Dt viii. 15).'" Hence he is called the Fountain of God.[38]

Kindred to this idea is that of his procession from *Ho Theos* as a ray from the sun.[39]

In reference to man, then, we find him, "the most ancient word' as 'the fountain of man's reason."[40]

(b) Division.

We must remember that theology grows out of philosophy; which is rooted in psychology; which springs from current language. Therefore, because the Greek

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language used one single word as a pun for *reason* and *word,* so the Stoics[41] (Drummond i. p. 110) declared a human psychological distinction between indwelling reason-logos (*endiathetos*) and externalizing word-logos (*prophorikos*). While Philo never applies these terms to the divine Logos, he makes the distinction of the "planning" and "building,"[42] "patterns" and "imitations"[43]; "inheritor" and "inheritance" both together forming the sum of the invisible world of ideas[44] (Cher. 14). In other words, by this convenient linguistic pun Philo thought he was explaining the corelation of the one and the many—and perhaps he came as close to it as anybody ever will.

The present purpose being not a discussion of Philonism, we must limit ourselves to two lists, as complete as possible, of names of the Logos, which will, better than anything else, describe his nature.

(c) Inner Logos Name-List.

Angel, eldest[45]; Appointed[46]; Archangel, great, of many names[47]; Beyond nature's beauty[48]; Covenant[49]; Cup-bearer of God[50]; Face of God[51]; First-born[52]; First-born son[53]; Fountain[54]; Gift[55]; God[56]; High-priest[57]; Hostage[58]; Image[59]; Image of God, antitype of all things[60]; Inheritor[61]; Instrument[62]; Invisible, spermatic, technic, divine Logos-word[63]; Lieutenant of the Great King[64]; Likeness[65]; Mediator[66]; Member of Trinity[67]; Mirror[68]; Model[68]; Model of Wisdom[69]; Name of God[70]; Neutral between God and Man[71]; Paraclete-advocate[72]; Place of Ideas[73]; Propitiation[74]; Ransom[75]; Ray[76]; Seal[77]; Second God[78]; Servant[79]; Suppliant[80]; Sharp-sighted and White.[81]

(d) Outer Logos Name-List.

Abides in man[82]; Ambassador[83]; Angel[84]; Angel of Reproof[85]; Ancient, most, Word as Fountain of Reason[86]; Artist[87]; Authority[88]; Bread given for Soul[89]; Captain, wise[90]; Charged with company of Stars[91]; Charioteer[92]; Desired[93]; Divider of Human Faculties[94]; Elder[95]; Escapable, not[96]; Eye, unslumbering[97]; Food of Saints[98]; Garment of World, clothed with[99]; Governor and Director[100]; Guardian of Peace[101]; Home at Heliopolis[102]; Inherit-

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ance[103]; Interpreter[104]; Lord[105]; Manna[106]; Master of Feast[107]; Model of Second Sun[108]; Messenger[109]; Pilot[110]; Prompt and fiery sword[111]; Prophet[112]; Purifier[113]; Ruler[114]; Seeker of erring[115]; Seen voice[116]; Shadow of God[117]; Sharp sword[118]; Shepherd[119]; Solitude[120]; Soul of world[121]; Superintendent of Stars[122]; Swift, outstripping[123]; Witness, third, to every bargain.[124]

5. THE POWERS.

As has already been explained, Philo had to harmonize Greco-Egyptian Logos-teaching with Zoroastrian personified qualities. He did so by reading the latter into the Logos; these various "spirits" together formed the divine Spirit, of which more anon.

It has also been explained that we must not look for consistency in such vague and fluctuating "descriptions" of chief qualities of God, which might indeed be added to by "recent"[125] mystic information.[126] We must summarize.

(a) Twofold.

No doubt the origin of any one power was Philo's solution of the perennial problems of the origin of evil, of the inconsistency between Mercy and Justice. As he was a monotheist, and declared God unmingled good, he evidently had to invent subordinate powers, which were laws, sitting by as assessors and joint-inquirers[127] so as to excuse the good Lord from punishing, which would be carried out by the female power justice sitting by, and who would not rest till the offender was punished.[128]

Moreover he had a convenient linguistic and anthropological hook on which to hang his theories—that of father and mother. As God is the father of the Universe, so is Wisdom, Virtue and Knowledge of God the mother of all things.[129]

Again, he had a convenient Biblical ideogram in the two words "God" and "Lord" which furnished him, ready-made, the "two most ancient and supreme powers of the divine."[130] They are in short Mercy and Justice, of which the older and faster is Mercy[131]; corresponding to human psychological love and fear. Of these "God"

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is the Benefactor[132] whereas the "Lord" is the legislative chastiser who rewards[133] and punishes.[134]

(b) THREEFOLD.

Following the anthropological (and Egyptian) analogy, father and mother (wisdom) have a son—the *"only and well-beloved Son,"* which is the world.[135] However, in[136] it is the Logos-reason which brings Mercy and Justice together, and is their cause, as well as mediator.

On the contrary[137] this triad appears as a threefold image of one subject—one image of the living God, and two Shadows irradiated by it. There is a whole section[138] on the three angel visitors to Abraham, which distinctly (Abr. xxv.) mentions the middle power as the best, which has sight of the living God; next the right hand beneficent "God," and third the next best punishing "Lord." And it is the centre one or Logos, who promises the seed. But again it is the God of the Universe himself (Logos not mentioned) who appears in the midst of the two elder powers[139] to make up the three cakes.

This threefoldness is reflected in man's life as the graces, the daughters of God.[140] While in God the three principles had been cause, virtue and generation.[141] So in man they are: "The Lord God of three natures—of instruction (Abraham), of holiness (Isaac), and of the practice of virtue (Jacob)" (symbols).[142]

(c) MANIFOLD.

Philo[143] is going to enumerate five powers; but unfortunately there seems to be a hiatus in the MSS, obliterating the last, leaving the list of 6 cities of refuge as follows: First the Metropolis, the Logos; then its "colonies" are "the powers of Him who utters the Logos"—1 Creative; 2 Royal ruling; 3 Merciful; 4 Legislative forbidding; the lost 5th was probably the rewarding power.[144] We see here therefore only the addition of the Merciful Saving power; to bring this scheme in harmony with the Trinity above would assign the Logos to the Executive Punisher and Rewarder. As Philo mentions it as a mystic secret[145] is it possible that this was the idea of the "Second Coming" of the Lord to judgment?

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CHAPTER IV.—THE WORLD.

1. THE WORLD ITSELF.

God is the world-soul[1] just as stars are animals with souls[2] and hence can display signs of future events.[3] The Zodiac symbolizes nature.[4]

The world itself is the younger likeness of the elder invisible creation.[5] As the invisible divine reason, perceptible only by the intellect, is called the image of God, so the image of this image is that light perceptible only by the intellect—the universal light.[6]

The Aether is universal unquenchable fire, and is God—the Logos being probably meant.[7] So the world is a temple of God in which the angels are priests.[8] God is thus the husband of the universe.[9]

Blood of animals is the life of the flesh[10]; the weakest of souls incarnate in fishes[11]; they symbolize conceptions.[12] Man by his nature kindred to animals *is* every animal.[13] The first man was the citizen of the world.[14] In Paradise plants had reason.[15] Time came into being only together with creation of the world.[16]

Man, as single being, resembled God.[17] His age is 12 times periods of 7 years, which represent his stages of growth.[18]

Philo is not a heliocentricist: the earth is the centre, the planets, from earth outward, occupying the following order: Moon, Venus, Mercury, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn,[19] suggested by the seven-branched candlestick in the temple.

Following Plato's "harmony of the spheres," there is a music of the heavens[20] the listening unto which imparts immortality.[21]

2. ANGELS.

1. FIGURATIVE.

It is difficult to decide definitely what Philo understands by angels; it would seem wiser to mention, in order the various conceptions he denotes by them.

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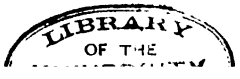

In the first place the "immortal words" by which careless souls are called back to holiness, are called customarily *angels*.[22] This would seem to mean the words of Scripture or the words in which God speaks to the soul, figuratively called beams of light.

However,[23] we have also human "holy actions and words" called "customarily" angels. However these seem as above images of the divine actions and words "those strangers from a foreign land, who had been received in hospitality, namely, sacred and holy reasons, the guards and defenders of the soul."

In this case therefore the word angel would seem to be no more than a figurative expression for good human acts and words, and their patterns, the divine thoughts and reasons given to us by divine grace.

So also the flame of the burning bush in Horeb is called an angel as relating (diêggeleto) the divine purpose.[24]

2. ELEMENTS.

In the second place, angels seem to be connected with elemental forces in the cosmos. So they appear to support the world as pillars.[25] "As pillars support whole houses, so also do the divine powers support the whole world, and that most excellent and godlike race of mankind." This was understood of angels by the monkish compiler, his title standing, "About the doctrine that God has made angels to be guardians of us." The connection between them, however, is only one of invisibility[26]; "We ought to look upon the universal world as the highest and truest temple of God, having for its most holy place that most sacred part of the essence of all existing things, namely the heaven; and for ornament the stars; and for priests, the subordinate ministers of his power, the angels." However, they seem to be distinguished from the angels[27]: God, being one, has about him an unspeakable number of powers, all of which are defenders and preservers of everything that is created; and among these powers those also which are conversant with punishment are involved. Again it is by means of these powers that the incorporeal world, perceptible by the intellect, has

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been put together, which is the archetypal model of this invisible world, being compounded of invisible species, just as this world is of invisible bodies.

"Some persons, therefore, admiring exceedingly the nature of both these worlds, have not only deified them in their wholes, but have also deified the most beautiful parts of them, such as the sun and the moon, and the entire heaven, which, having no reverence for anything, they have called gods. But Moses, perceiving their design, says, "O Lord, King of the Gods (Dt x. 17) in order to show the difference between the ruler and those subject to him."

3. Angels as Divine.

These cosmic elements are by their very cosmic nature a part of the divine, and hence such themselves. So the world[28] is the abode "of those gods which are visible to the outward senses." They are called gods[29]; purest heroes,[30] and are said to be identical with the pagan *daimones*[31]; or according to Greek philosophy, the heroes.[32] They are the priests, "subordinate ministers of God's power"[33] in the temple of the universe; and they are called such (as the flame of the burning bush in Horeb) "because it merely related (diêggeleto) the events which were about to happen."[34]

4. Nature of Angels.

Apparently the souls of men and of angels are of the same fundamental nature; some of the "company of incorporeal souls" are "assigned to mortal bodies," and are again subjected to a change of place according to certain defined periodical revolutions; but that others which have received a more divinely prepared habitation look down upon the region of the earth; and that in the highest place, near the other itself the purest souls are placed, which Moses entitles angels; souls which go as ambassadors and messengers of good from the ruler of all things to his subjects, and messengers also to the king respecting those things of which his subjects have heard.[35] If therefore you consider that "Souls, daimons, and angels are things differing indeed in name, but one and identical in real-

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ity."[36] "Angels are only souls hovering in air"[37] "it is necessary that the air also should be full of living beings, invisible to us as the air." "Souls that have not thought worthy to approach any one of the portions of the earth," "when hallowed and surrounded by the ministrations of the Father, the Creator has been accustomed to employ as hand-maidens and servants in the administration of mortal affairs." Some of these good angels are "ambassadors of man to God, and of God to man, and sacred and holy on account of this blameless and most excellent office."[38] Philo quotes[39] Deut. xxxii. 7 lxx. about the angels assigned as guardians over various nations. "And there is also[40] in the air a most sacred company of incorporeal souls as an attendant upon the heavenly souls; for the word of prophecy is accustomed to call these souls angels." It would seem as if the difference between the souls who incarnated to become men and those who did not was either (as cause or result) that of perishable and imperishable souls,[41] "the company of incorporeal souls which revolve about the air and heaven." Possibly this difference results from their not mingling with bodies, "but such as have the irrational parts wholly cut out, being absolutely and wholly intellectual, pure reasonings, resembling the unit."[42] They are called by Moses "Sons of God" inasmuch as they were not produced by any mortal, but are incorporeal, as being spirits destitute of any body.[43]

5. Angels as Saviors.

Angels may also appear as saviors[44]:

> And thanks be to God who giveth the victory, and who renders the labors of the man who is a slave to his passions, though ever so carefully carried out, still unproductive and useless, sending down winged natures in an invisible manner for their destruction and overthrow.

6. Bad Angels.

Angels, just like souls of men, are bad, "unholy and unworthy of any address," quoting Ps. lxxvii. 49.[45]

The psychological process by which they become bad seems to be described thus: "And the substance of angels is spiritual, but it occurs every now and then that on

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emergencies occurring they have imitated the appearance of men, and transformed themselves so as to have assumed the human shape; as they did on this occasion, when forming connections with women for the production of giants."[46]

3. REGENERATION—SEED OF GOD IN MAN.

The Stoic idea of God's seed being in man appears in Philo prominently. The father sows the good seed of reason in men,[47] sowing the seed of virtues in the soul as in fertile ground.[48] The seed of happiness are incorporeal ideas. Men do not by sowing their seed and "raising a generation" act of themselves any more than a flute plays itself: it is God who by invisible nerves animates men as puppets,[49] thus connecting reason and generation (*logos endiathetos,* mind; *logos prophorikos,* words; *logos spermatikos,* sperma) which is a mystery,[50] or, in plain English, a pun, or play on words.[51]

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CHAPTER V.—PYSCHOLOGY AND ETHICS.

1. PSYCHOLOGIES.

. Philo being an electic, we cannot expect to find in him any exclusive, systematic, coherent psychology; on the contrary, we find just what we expect: Platonic, Aristotelian and Stoic psychology jostling each other at every turn.

(a) Platonic Psychology.

In respect to platonic psychology we must always carry in mind that the highest human faculty, reason[1] is ruled or partaken in by God, the fountain of the most ancient word. It is undivided.[2] Having this one division to start with, we now look for a triple division in addition. So we find[3] that the seven-branched golden candlestick in the temple suggests to him both the seven "planets," and the seven divisions of the human organism: highest, this divine Logos, the divider of all the faculties and underneath three pairs (rational and irrational). These are no doubt given[4] as reason, sense and nutritious soul; or[5] as soul, sense, and speech; or[6] as 1 reason, seated in the head, with virtue prudence; 2 passions, seated in the chest, with virtue courage; 3 desires, seated in the stomach, with virtue temperance; 4 mind, as charioteer and pilot whose predominance is justice.

(b) Aristotelian Psychology.

We are both animals (vivifying power) and also men whose distinctive faculty is reason. Again[7] we have a fairly complete scheme[8]: 1 Possessive power (bones), shared by stocks and stones; 2 Natural power (nails and hair), shared by plants; 3 Imaginative impetuosity, shared by animals; 4 Mind, like soul of irrational animals; 5 Comprehension, peculiar to human mind; 6 Reasoning,

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talk *logos prophorikos;* 7 Reasoning, mind (*endiathetos*), common to divine natures.

(c) Stoic Psychology.

Evidently the last distinction is the Stoic double logos in man,[9] whose virtues are distinctness and truth (outer and inner). 8 Sense appears in addition to above as ally of mind.[10]

We may now consider a number of Stoic schemes: Eight parts,[11] mind and seven irrational parts, namely, 5 senses, tongue and generation (*logos spermatikos*). Again[12] into five outward senses,[13] appetite with fear, and grief; passion with pleasure; mind with reason.[14] This it will be noticed is again partly Platonic. Again[15] we have body, soul, reason, virtue or logos, and God.

To suit this Platonic scheme we have a series of triplicities (omitting the highest function, as divine). So we have the four Platonic vices of folly, cowardice, intemperance, injustice; we have the virtue of courage[16] as endured, temperance as chosen; and justice as distributed. The wise man's power is threefold, according to the sphere in which it works. In the realm of ethics it is moral philosophy; in the realm of heaven, natural philosophy; and in affairs of the living God, piety or holiness.[17] The graces man may seek are perfect virtue, improvement, and goodness of disposition.[18] Man's excellencies are expertness, perseverance, and memory.[19]

An adapted sort of Platonism is found in the passage[20]: 1 Body, capable of motions; vessel of soul; and decayable; 2 Sense, the five, body-guard of soul; 3 Voice, physical and rational; 4 soul, dominant, holy, fragment of deity, indivisible called "psuche" because "cooled" when infused into man.

(d) Original Psychology.

Philo believes in the sex of souls: they were made male and female[21]; and senses should be as subordinate to mind, as woman to man.[22]

Senses are windows of the soul[23] and their awakening is the sleep of the mind,[24] which otherwise is unsleepingly awake.[25] The mind is the sight of the soul,[26] or rather

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the eye of the eye.[27] Man cannot understand himself.[28] The mind should be charioteer and pilot.[29] The senses bring forth perception of objects in pain and anguish.[30]

Philo is very fond of calling the highest mental function the shepherd of the rest[13]; the guide,[32] the good and faithful shepherd,[33] the "good shepherd."[34] This particularly[35] with a scheme of eight functions, as the leader of the other seven.

2. WAR OF SOUL; GAMES; PRIZE.

An age, the chronology of which was determined by Olympiads[36]; whose every city's differing chronology was marked by cycles formed by recurrence of athletic contests would be likely to bring out prominently the figure of soul-progress as a war, or struggle.

We have elsewhere noted the conception of the world as a theatre[37] in which the moral struggle was fought out —it must appear therefore as a struggle[38] or war.[39] If by any misfortune we are dragged into a physical or earthly contest, "take care to be without delay defeated; for then being defeated you will be the conqueror. . . but as for those (contests) which are really wholly, study yourself to gain the crown in them" and not in such as admit of victors who have never abstained from any act of violence or injustice.[40] This contest against pleasure is a glorious struggle,[41] and the Logos-word helps to conquer the 4 passions and 5 senses.[42] The habit of the spirit to return to itself is illustrated by the runners in triennial festivals running around the course.[43]

Of course the protagonist of these soul-champions is the passions,"[44] "having the admonition of angels for his gymnastic trainers."[45]

"But the divine army is the body of virtues, the champions of the souls that love God, whom it becomes, when they see the adversary defeated, to sing a most beautiful and becoming hymn to the God who giveth the victory and the glorious triumph; and two choruses, the one proceeding from the conclave of men, and the other from the company of women, will stand up and sing in alternate songs a melody responsive to one anothers voices."

And as Jacob has the angels as helpers, so he has God as defender[46]:

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"All those who must do so . . . have the power of the great king holding a shield over them, and in every place, and at every time, fighting in their defence. So God is a friend to man."[47]

But the athlete must strip himself of all desires. Philo tells[48] the story of the man who seeing a great procession uttered, "See all the things of which I have no need"—in connection with the soul's struggle in the theatre of life.

In this struggle we notice the shield of divine protection;[49] the Sword of the Logos, who is described as the sharp divider;[50] reason as a defensive armor;[51] God is armor and defender;[52] and the virtues are a complete armor.[53]

In this holy contest the athlete and philosopher[54] fights for an incorruptible crown,[55] getting prizes set by virtue,[56] the greatest of which is to see God.[57]

In such a glorious struggle then, let not the hands droop.[58]

This warfare is moreover uncompromising. It is impossible to find place in the heart, at the same time, for love of the world, and God.[59] Man[60]

"cannot be made a true priest who is still serving in human and mortal warfare, in which vain opinions are the officers of the companies; and that he cannot be a peaceful man, who does not in sincerity cultivate and serve, with all simplicity, the only being who has no share in warfare and everlasting peace."

3. HUMAN IMPERFECTIONS.

While Philo's ideals led him to gorgeous dreams, his common sense never lost sight of the fact that all men must die, as human;[61] that all have sinned;[62] that none are perfect;[63] and indeed that perfection is impossible;[64] indeed, immortals are no more found among men.[65]

4. PERSONAL RELIGION.

God is the husband and father of the soul,[66] and may appear to it by means of an angel or directly himself.[67] Prayer should be made daily before beginning one's avocation;[68] and the good man is in relation of friendship with God.[69]

It is impossible to find place in the heart, at the same

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time, for love of the world and of God;[70] we thus must seek solitude,[71] and this is described as seeking refuge in God, where alone is content.[72] Piety to God is therefore the only fortress.[73]

We must give up the worldly warfare: Man[74]

"cannot be made a true priest who is still serving in human and mortal warfare, in which vain opinions are the officers of the companies; and that he cannot be a peaceful man, who does not in sincerity cultivate and serve, with all simplicity, the only being who has no share in warfare and everlasting peace."

5. FLIGHT OR REFUGE.

The suppliant Logos fled to God and was his suppliant for mankind.[75] "Whosoever shall flee thither shall live." But is not everlasting life a fleeing for refuge to the living God? and is not a fleeing from his presence, death?"[76] "But the most undeniable proof of perfection is for a man to be a fugitive to God, having abandoned all concern for the things of creation."[77] "And it is very felicitously that he has called the Levites a ransom, for nothing so completely conducts the mind to freedom as its fleeing for refuge to, and becoming a suppliant of God."[78] The road of this flight is the royal path of the mean:[79]

"Wisdom, by which alone suppliant souls can find a way of escaping to the uncreated God; for it is natural that one who goes without any hindrance along the royal road will never feel weariness before he meets with the King."

6. THE END OR GOAL.

While the standard of Ethics of Aristotle (happiness as result of living according to nature)[80] appears, Philo himself looks higher, to immortality,[81] so that the wise seek a celestial country.[82] So peace consists in sight of God,[83] and for the wise man stability lies in advancing towards perfection.[84] The prize of practical piety was seeing God.[85]

But there is another, and an unselfish cause for the existence of man—and that is, praise of God. [86] So that the world may be a perfume of gratitude to God, incense—altar.[87]

Philosophy is man's true mistress,[88] and perfection his

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aim, so as to become the ideal perfect man.[89] Heaven is to become a home[90] and virtue. Man is a short-lived heaven[91] and receives a heaven,[92] the Logos being both inheritor and inheritance.[93] The mind is called a heaven; for natures only comprehended by the intellect are already in heaven.[94] The end of wisdom is holy mirth.[95]

Old age gradually promotes the sight of God.[96]

The prizes of the soul-struggle are dignity, terror, and beneficence.[97]

While we have seen elsewhere that Philo is perfectly sane as to human imperfection, nevertheless his ideals do not fail to scale the very heights. Our religious struggle is an advance towards perfection.[98] We are to arrive to the height of perfect knowledge;[99] and perfect wisdom[100] and attain to perfection.[101]

7. THE WISE MAN.

Another characteristic Platonic conception is that of the *sophos,* or Wise Man, an ideal perfect man. The wise man is the friend of God.[102] He is the temple of God, and the process by which he becomes such is described in the Chapter on Inspiration. He is a soul-pilot;[103] becomes a ransom for bad men (as did Lot),[104] and makes a city happy.[105] He is mindful of the ancient heroes[106] and demigods,[107] and considers the ideal of the temperate man.[108]

The wise man is a composite of all good qualities shown in all good men, as set forth in the following eloquent passage:[109]

"Accordingly, every one of them takes up in his hand what belongs to himself; and, having taken it up, binds all the parts together; the man well endowed by nature taking up the parts of dexterity, and perseverance, and memory, of which natural good endowments consist; the man who has learnt well takes up the parts of listening, tranquility and attention; the man willing to endeavor takes up courage and a happy confidence which does not shrink from danger; the man inclined to gratitude takes up praises, panegyrics, hymns and blessings, both in speaking and in singing; the man who is eager for wages takes up unhesitating industry, most enduring gratitude and care, armed with a promptitude which is not to be despised; he who pursues light rather than darkness takes up wakefulness and acuteness of sight; the man who is an admirer of the division

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of and distinction between things takes up well-sharpened reasons so as not to be deceived by things similar to one another as if they were identical, impartiality, so as not to be led away by favor, and incorruptibility; he who, in something of a piratical fashion, lays ambuscades against those who counterplot against him, takes up deceit, cajolery, trickery, sophistry, pretence and hypocrisy; which being in their own nature blamable, are nevertheless to be praised when employed against an enemy; he who studies to be rich in the riches of nature takes up temperance and frugality; he who loves peace takes up obedience to a law, a good reputation, freedom from pride, and equality."

8. ETHICS.

While Philo's eclecticism might lead us to expect a Jesuitism, his anxiety for edification preserves him from it; and nothing is more refreshing than his constant iteration that we must seek justice justly.[110] We are to say what is right at the right time.[111] A judge should pursue what is righteous in a righteous manner (3.370-LS, Dt xvi. 19).

However, on the other hand, he is in no sense a fanatic. As fear is better than a defeat,[112] so it is better to run away when danger threatens.[113] Prudence is a saving virtue, and not the least of its offices is to avoid discussions.[114] It is not impossible that it is just such wisdom that enabled Philo to survive such trying times.

Philo is clear-sighted enough to see there is no absolute moral standard,[115] and that even his own native Jewish laws were differently interpreted and practised in different places.[116] The higher unwritten law is symbolized by Abraham,[117] shown by faith.

However, Philo's whole conception of life is basically moral: earth is only a most holy *theatre*[118] where man struggles to develop divine powers (as we will see elsewhere more at length). His idea of a Church "elder" is that he is most worthy, or oldest in virtue.[119] The idea of "Bliss" or "blessedness" he analyses into "worthy of bliss" in Scriptures, and "praise" on the part of man.[120] He is unwavering in his insistence that only the pure-hearted, whether officially so recognised or not deserve admission to the temple; and that even priests if unworthy desecrate it.[121] Here arises the doctrine of intentions.

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The high-priest symbolizes in man, conscience.[122] As man can rise higher than the animals by this very faculty, so can he by moral guilt make himself viler than they.[123] Wisdom, virtues and justice are their own rewards, therefore, as they build up the man.[124] Piety and ministering to God is no direct benefit to God, but to man himself.[125] Virtue is therefore advantageous[126] (the modern utilitarian standpoint); and this individual morality supplies the principle on which Ethics may be based; as we said above there was no universal law without modifications.

We thus see that Philo represents modern ethical stand-points, and is thoroughly moral in tone. We must, however, with regret, acknowledge the following passage:[127]

"He who in something of a piratical fashion lays ambuscades against those who counterplot againts him, takes up deceit, cajolery, trickery, sophistry, pretence and hypocrisy; which being in their own nature blamable, are nevertheless praised when employed against an enemy."

Though we may not excuse, yet we may explain this by the bitter and relentless persecutions to which the Jews were exposed in Alexandria, by Flaccus.

9. PRACTICAL ETHICS.

Faith is the queen of all virtues,[128] and is the unwritten law Abraham symbolized.[129] So the good hopes are the doorkeepers of virtues.[130]

The ideal is perfection; next in worth comes repentance, and third love of virtue, which yields rest (Noah)[131]. The three graces[132] constitute three paths of the soul upwards[133] which are symbolized by 1, Abraham or instruction; 2, Isaac or natural virtue; and 3, Jacob, whose practice in wrestling attained the prize of seeing God.

The negative golden rule is given at length.[134] Freedom lies in not fearing death.[135] The upward road is hard.[136] Daily prayer is enjoined.[137] The "path" is recognized.[138] Friendship is praised.[139]

Modesty is only half a virtue without its corresponding boldness:[140]

"But this angel, who is reproof, at the same time friendly and full of advice out of his good will teaches (her) the soul not to feel only shame, but also to entertain confidence; for

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that modesty is but half a virtue, when separated from proper boldness."

10. TEMPERANCE.

Evidently, the maxim "nothing in excess"[141] suggests temperance and moderation. Only he who has seen temperance and God is safe from death,[142] typified by the healing brazen serpent looking at whom men who are bitten by pleasure[143] shall live in soul. The mind full of sobriety is a libation to God.[144] We may learn moderation from considering the misfortunes of others.[145]

11. MAXIMS—THE ROYAL ROAD OF THE MEAN.

Philo is full of the proverbial wisdom of this civilization and culture. "Life is short, art is long."[146] "Nothing in excess;"[147] Pythagoras "Ipse dixit;"[148] "A friend is a second self."[149]

We are however less familiar with "Imitate God"[150] and "Be ye skilful money-changers"[151] which has gained some notoriety as one of the lost Logia of Jesus. Besides[152] we are told that evil thoughts may be condoned and ignored, but what goes through the mouth makes us responsible; for[153] what is said can never be recalled. "The word is a shadow of a deed"[154] has a certain sound as if it were a maxim. Likewise life is conceived of as a ladder,[155] although this is again denied, and life compared to a flight to God.[156] The uncertainty of fortune seems also proverbial.[157]

The middle royal road is the right one. "For it is better to proceed along the middle road, which is that which is really the royal road, and which the great and only King, God, has widened to be a most suitable abode for the souls that love virtue."[158] "But that we may not, through deviating from the right road be compelled to yield to one of two rival faults let us desire and pray to be able to proceed straight along the middle of the road. Now the middle between temerity and cowardice, is courage; the mean between profuse extravagance and illiberal stinginess, is temperance; that between crafty unscrupulousness and folly is prudence; and the proper path be-

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tween superstition and impiety, is piety."[159] This middle path is the way of wisdom's escape of the soul to God.[160] Its special advantage is that on it occur no delays from hindrances.[161]

12. SECULAR EDUCATION.

Philo was no enemy to education.[162]

"It is profitable, therefore, to abide among these and other sciences resembling them, and to devote one's especial attention to them. For perhaps, I say, as has happened to many, we shall become known to the queenly virtues by means of their subjects and hand maidens. Do you not see that our bodies do not use solid and costly food before they have first, in their age of infancy, used such as had no variety, and consisted merely of milk? And in the same way think also that infantine food is prepared for the soul, namely the encyclical sciences, and the contemplations which are directed to each of them. But that the more perfect and becoming food, namely the virtues, is prepared for those who are really full-grown men."

13. WOMAN.

The picture of the temperate woman[163] and of the wicked woman[164] is one of Philo's masterpieces of eloquence, and has to be read to be appreciated. Perhaps this high idea of women's possibilities was impressed on him by his wife who on her part is best described by the story that she was once rebuked by an acquaintance for not wearing ornaments, whereon she answered somewhat in the style of Cornelia of the Gracchi, that her husband was her sufficient ornament.[165] Women in the Scriptures are said to be "built" not "made," because their presence constitutes man's home.[166]

Woman was however sharply sundered off from man by the fact that souls were by birth male or female.[167] Besides, woman's subservience to man was in his eyes so axiomatic that he illustrates the body's relation to the mind thereby.[168] Nevertheless God is specifically called the painter of woman, suggesting that Philo was not insensible to her charms[169]—yet even so, her place is strictly within the home.[170] Still both man and woman, each in his sphere, cannot replace each other: a mannish woman is only half a man, while a feminine man is considered a hermaphrodite.[171]

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14. SOCIAL.

The only allowable purpose of marriage is procreation of children.[172]

Freedom comes as a result from ministration to God, and hence are men ransomed.[173]

Equality appears in the creation of the universe as the idea of the creator.[174] There were no slaves among the Therapeuts.[175]

The good constitution of a well-governed democratic government is a hymn to God.[176]

The whole marvelous treatise on "that the virtuous Man alone is Free" should be read in this connection. Also that on Joseph, or "the Life of a Man occupied with Affairs of State."[177]

15. POLITICAL.

(a) JEWS.

With all sincerity Philo holds that the Jews have the priesthood and prophecy for the whole world,[178] and he instances their humanity for all in the high-priests' yearly prayer for all humanity[179] In his eyes the Jews were not less numerous than all other nations together[180]; he mention the Jewish first-fruit storehouses all over the world,[181] and instances the catholicity of the Jerusalem sacrifices for the emperors which he expects will be performed for ever.[182] The Jewish Synagogues in pagan lands he frequently mentions,[183] and lets his zeal outrun his memory of the Cherubim in insisting there were no representation of living things in the temple.[184] He gives a lively picture of the difficulties the Egyptian governor had in trying to abrogate the Sabbath.[185] He has written a whole treatise on Humanity[186] to show how philanthropic the Jewish law was.

To Philo, Adam was the first citizen of the world,[187] and the Jew, by virtue of his Biblical genealogies, the first nobleman in the world.[188] Jewish renegades or deserters were therefore the worst offenders in hell; they were permanently abandoned by God.[189]

(b) JUDGMENT OF JUDAISM.

Under "circumcision" has been noticed the "novelty"

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of a circumcision of circumcision, where it was implied that even the circumcised might lead stained lives and were in need of God's purification.[190] In the description of judgment, the pious proselyte is to be promoted to prominence, while the Jew, the "man of noble descent"[191] who has adulterated the coinage of his noble birth will be hurled down to Tartarus "in order that all men who behold this example may be corrected by it, learning that God receives gladly virtue which grows out of hostility to him, utterly disregarding its original roots, but looking favorably on the whole trunk from its lowest foundation, because it has become useful, and has changed its nature so as to become fruitful."[192]

The idea of the bad vine-shoot being cut off and the good vine being grafted in is found in,[193] where he contrasts the name "Eliphah" with "Amalek" who are "the people looking up"—passion. The father of this is Eliphah: "God has scattered me."

"But does it not follow that when God scatters, and dispenses, and discards the soul, banishing it from himself, irrational passion is at once engendered? For he plants the mind which can really behold him, and which is really attached to God, the vine of a good kind, stretching out its roots so as to make them everlasting, and giving it abundance of fruit for the acquisition and enjoyment of the virtues. On account of which Moses prays, saying, 'Bring them in, and plant them in' (Ex. xv. 17), in order that those divine shoots may not be ephemeral, but long-lived, and lasting for ever."

In any case, while Philo usually teaches hell as sanative punishment, he does believe in final abandonment by God for Jewish renegades or deserters[194]—inferring that there were such in his day.

16. APPRECIATION OF THE EGYPTIANS.

Though Philo lived in Alexandria, and no doubt absorbed the main problems of Egyptian theology (compromise between creation and emanation, the Word, the triad, etc.), he knew little of the exoteric Egyptian rites, and had but a low idea of their character.

The Egyptians are inhospitable and intemperate[195]; conceited, and disposed to ennoble things that are not noble[196]; boastful also.[197]

They symbolize the body and its appetites.[198]

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Circumcision Philo recognizes as originally Egyptian.[199] He also seems to refer to their practice of shaving as outward sign of a vow.[200] The age of puberty in Egypt was 14 years.[201]

However, Philo seems to be misinformed as to the name of their sacred bull, which he gives as Typhus or evil.[202]

Heliopolis[203] seems to be symbolically the home of the Logos.[204]

However Egyptians are the nation fullest of wisdom, as in the matter of circumcision.[205] Yet are they flighty[206]:

"The Egyptian character is by nature most especially haughty and boastful whenever so slight a breeze of prosperity does merely blow upon it, so that men of that nation look upon pursuits of life and objects of ambition of ordinary men, as subjects for laughter and downright ridicule."

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CHAPTER VI.—CHURCH AND SACRAMENTS.

1. THE CHURCH.

Men should have but one relation only—namely, the bond of friendship to God.[1] This no doubt underlies a common organization: the "company of the wise is an especial inheritance of God"[2]; he mentions his consideration for the world's opinion of such as are likeminded with him and associated with him, so that he can speak of a code of morals, of opinions, and of action of "us,"[3] and is anxious about "reputation."[4] He speaks of coming into an assembly of the Ruler of the Universe,[5] of a Church[6] and persons receiving the word.[7]

"God wishing to send down from heaven to the earth an image of his divine virtue, out of his compassion for our race, that it might not be destitute of a more excellent portion, and that he might thus wash off the pollutions which defile our miserable existence so full of all dishonor established his church amongst us."

"And in this year the man who had sown the graces of God so as to produce many more good things, in order that the greatest possible number of persons worthy to share them might participate in them, finds also the barley producing an hundredfold."

"There is no subject respecting which anyone can make an affirmation with greater certainty than he can respecting the fact that the race of wisdom is without limitation or end. It is well therefore, to enroll oneself under the banners of one who discusses these matters without an oath, but he who is not very much inclined to assent to the assertion of another will at least assent to them when he has made oath to their correctness. But let no one refuse to take an oath of this kind well knowing that he will have his name inscribed on pillars among those who are faithful to their oaths."

This[8] looks like an oath-bound society: and it is certain Philo had associates whose interpretations he mentioned anonymously[9] and other associations with whom he finds fault with for not caring enough for external reputation and who live as solitaries "as if they had no knowledge of any city, village, or house, or in short any company whatever."[10]

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He speaks of "elders" being such not by their age but by their worth.[11]

"For he who is an elder really is looked upon as such, not with reference to his length of time but to the praiseworthyness of his life." "But the man who has been a lover of prudence, and wisdom, and faith, in God one may justly denominate an elder, forming his name by a slight change from the first." "Let the virtuous man be called elder and first."

Philo speaks of philosophising on the seventh day,[12] and mentions the festival of the full moon[13] and the habit of interrupting the speaker with words of assent.[14]

Philo refers Ps. xlvi. 4 not to Jerusalem,[16] but to an invisible city of God, which is primarily the world, as having received *the whole cup of the divine draught.* Would not this refer well to the church? Secondarily, it is the soul of man. Jerusalem means the *sight of peace,* when, as in Ex. xi. 7, the *dogs*[15] of the outside sense will be hushed.

At least he knew of such companies, oath-bound, as the Essenes, even if the Therapeuts are to be denied.[17]

While of course no statement of Philo's about oath-bound mystic societies would be strong enough to convince those who deny their existence, Philo's at least highly equivocal language places the burden of proof on those who deny their existence.

2. RESPONSES.

It seems to have been the custom in the religious companies to which Philo belonged to interrupt the speaker with "words of good omen," which may well have been *amen* as well as *omen,* as Moses commanded his disciples to assemble for the reading of the laws[18]:

"And in fact they do assemble, constantly together, and they do sit down one with another, the multitude in general in silence, except when it is customary to say any words of good omen, by way of assent to what is being read."

3. APPOINTMENT BY LOT.

Appointment by lot was not unknown to Philo[19]:

"Some persons have contended that all magistrates ought to have the officers appointed by lot; which, however, is a mode of proceeding not advantageous for the multitude, for the casting of lots shows good fortune but not virtue."

On the contrary, in Philo's religious body persons were not even called "Elders" by age, but by virtue.[20]

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4. SECT, SACRIFICIAL, VICARIOUS, RANSOM.

A priest's office was higher than a king's.[21] A man with such a view would very naturally have much symbolism connected with sacrifices. We find therefore continual references to the temple. They are all correct, with the exception of three where no doubt Philo must have been temporarily misled by usage of language, for elsewhere his statements seem correct—the priests entering the innermost daily,[22] shew-bread in the innermost,[23] and a confused passage about a forbidding to offer unleavened bread.[24] Moreover he insists on no images being in the temple,[25] conveniently forgetting the horns of the altar and the cherubim over the ark, which indeed may (as monster winged bulls) have given rise to Tacitus' story of the head of an ass.

Abraham is the Elect high father,[26] typifying no doubt "election" and "call."[27]

The Logos was in a vicarious sense responsible for the humanity for which he mediated, and hence arose the idea of ransom,[28] as a good man is a ransom for the bad man.[29]

5. SACRIFICIAL EUCHARIST.

The effect of sacrifice no doubt depended on the life inhering in the blood of the victims.[30] Hence arose perhaps (from cannibalistic origins) the conception of propitiation.[31] The soul, putting off the robe opinions, makes an offering of the blood of the soul.[32] Aaron typifies the consecrated sacrificial intellect.[33] "The Savior of the universe has opened to us his heavenly treasury for our use and enjoyment."[34] Now as the rock is wisdom,[35] and as we drink wisdom as the water from the rock and eat the universal manna (God and the Logos), this figurative eucharistic language becomes sacramental when combined with sacrificial language: "to cry out to God the only Savior to lighten our labors, and pay a ransom and price for the salvation of the soul, so as to emancipate and deliver it." As the Father is reason[36] and the mother custom[37] so "then the mind will sacrifice its well-beloved son, not a man, for the wise man is not a slayer of his children, but the male offspring of a virtuously

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living soul, pregnant, its divine shoot, self-taught, the nourishment of others, and their teacher."[38]

6. BAPTISMS.

The reference to baptisms are numerous[39] but disappointing. In any case, Philo knows nothing of *one baptism* but only of many baptisms. They belong to every pagan rite[40] and mystery,[41] to the deluge.[42] Mosaic education is sufficient without any cleansings.[43] Wisdom is of itself baths and purifications,[44] foreshadowed by the ceremonial bath-purifications of Jewish priests.[45] While God "walks in" the wise man only the angels—the words of God—"move about in the minds of those persons who are still in a process of being washed"—washing off the life which defiles them, in contact with their heavy bodies.[46] The sacred Logos-word purifies us "with the sprinklings prepared beforehand for purification," and adorned us with select reasonings of true philosophy.[47] Divine wisdom alone can help to wash and cleanse a life that is full of stains.[48] Moses in appointing Aaron washed him all over with the most pure and vivifying water of the fountain.[49] Ablutions were appointed on all festivals,[50] for married persons,[51] for those about to eat the paschal meal,[52] after being near a corpse.[53]

The divine Logos-word is a fountain of water in which a man may wash away his vices and wickednesses.[54] It is also one of the 3 requirements for entrance to Philo's own mysteries.[55]

7. GOD AND MAN AS 'STANDING' ONES.

The conception of *standing* is a prominent one in Philo's mind (2.382 to 384-So 2.32, 33), and deserves close examination.

(a) The Natural-man is unstable:

"You see now . . . the lover of self, who being easily moved and changeable, and fickle, both in his body and soul, says, 'I *thought* I was standing' (Gen. xli, 17), and did not consider that unchangeableness and steadiness belong to God alone, and to him who is dear to God."

(b) God is stable; which is proved by two arguments, cosmological and biblical.

(1) The cosmological argument for God's stability.

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"This world . . . is always in the same place, and in the same condition. And if the world is immutable, how can the creator of it be anything but firm?"

(2) The biblical argument for God's stability is founded on Exodus xvii. 6, "I stand here and there, before you were dwelling on the rock"; and Deut. viii. 5, in which God himself is the rock, as "the most ancient authority of power, from which the creation of all existing things was shed forth, and the stream of wisdom flowed"; and Ex. xxiv. 10, "intimating enigmatically that he is not given to change by speaking here of his *standing,* and of his being firmly established."

(c) God's superabundant stability is showered on believers who enter into covenant with him.

"But (1) there is in the deity such an excessive degree of stability and firmness, that he gave even to the most excellent natures a share of his durability as his most excellent possession; and (2) presently afterwards he . . . is about to erect firmly his covenant full of grace (and that means his law and his word in the soul of the just man) as on a solid foundation, which shall be an image in the likeness of God," Genesis ix, 10.

(d) The result is that the faithful *stand*: Gen. xviii. 22, to Abraham, and Deut. v. 31 to Moses.

"By which injunction both these things appear to be intimated; first, the fact that the good man is not moved; and secondly the universal stability of God."

"And all those who are truly lovers of God desire eagerly to escape from the storm of multiplied affairs and business in which there is always tempestuous weather, and rough sea, and confusion, and to anchor in the calm and safe untroubled haven of virtue."

8. THE TRIPLE PUN ON CONTRACT—LAST WILL—FAITH.

Philo has a subtle equivocation not only between *last will and testament* and *contract covenant-pledge,* but also extending to *faith;* uniting all three expressions, and explaining how Abraham might be regarded the hero of "pistis" in the "diatheke." And this union of the three ideas is further emphasized by the "oath" which God swore by himself to that "contract-covenant," and "inheritance" which justifies the "pistis." We have here a whole nest of conceptions bound together by "puns"—probably the greatest and most fruitful source of "advance" in philosophy, and alas, yet more of theology.

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1° *Diatheke,* contract-last will: And establishes his covenant on a rock with Noah: he. . . indicates two other things: . . . justice. . . bestowing gifts.[56] Which means "I will give thee to thyself"—then[57] "the good man has received for his inheritance the soul and virtues of the soul." Also expressly united.[58]

2° *Pistis,* contract-pledge-faith: connected[59] with God's oath by himself to the pledge.

3° Union by oath of

(a) *pistis*—contract-pledge-faith in gifts promised.[60]

(b) *diatheke*: contract-gifts.[61] God's presence in the soul (oath) is the sacred deposit.[62]

(c) *deposit,*[63] secured not as a pledge of a contract, but by presence of God as witness.

We thus have a perfect chain between these important words by God's oath.

We have sacred deposits.[64]

God is both inheritor and inheritance,[65] hence can give testament-covenant.

God's word being his deed[66] all his words are oaths,[67] and God swears by himself as being the greatest.[68]

9. CIRCUMCISION ITSELF.

This important discussion would not be complete without that of Circumcision seeing the Covenant is one of Circumcision,[69] and yet, this circumcision may be not of the foreskin but of the heart.[70] The action of circumcision is not important in itself, and is valuable only because it is obedience to God.[71] An uncircumcized child being guilty only involuntarily, the punishment for disobedience should go to its parents, the child not being subjected to punishment of death.[72] This is explained away allegorically.[73]

Nevertheless Philo acknowledges circumcision as practised by Egyptians and other nations, as full of wisdom,[74] and its benefits are avoidance of inflammation and dirt[75] and symbolizes circumcision of heart,[76] and gives prolificalness.

Philo explains circumcision allegorically: the *male* is the mind, the *foreskin* is the passions. On this interpre-

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tation it becomes clear why salvation depends on circumcision: a mind, not cleansed from the passions, remains unclean.[77] But Philo did not draw the logical conclusion that physical circumcision is spiritually immaterial, that sin makes circumcision uncircumcision. His nearest approach to this is the following,[78] which seems inconsistent with itself; first seeming to fault the view for novelty, and then seeming to approve of it. Perhaps that was the best way out of the difficulty.

"Now the reaping a harvest is like cutting a second time what has been cut already; which when some persons fond of novelty applied themselves to, they found a circumcision of circumcision, and a purification of purification; that is to say, they found that the purification of the soul was itself purified, attributing the power of making bright to God, and never fancying that they themselves were competent, without the assistance of the divine wisdom, to wash and cleanse a life that is full of stains."

10. FASTING.

Fasting is not so much to be considered as a rite to be obeyed, but is to be practised for its own physiological value. Moses[79]

"is not enjoining hunger, the most intolerable of all evils, but only a brief cutting off of the stream which flows into the channels of the body. For thus the clear stream which proceeds from the fountain of reason was likely to be borne smoothly and evenly to the soul, since the uninterrupted use of food inundating the body contributes also to confuse the reason. But if the supply of food be checked, then the reason getting a firm footing as if in a dry road will be able to proceed in safety without stumbling."

11. PUBLIC CONFESSION.

Another means of grace is public confession. Pardon is promised to offenders by the merciful Savior[80] "if they receive these exertions of power not as aiming at their destruction, but rather at their admonition and improvement, and if they feel shame throughout their whole soul, and change their ways, reproaching themselves for their errors, and openly avowing and confessing all the sins that they have committed against themselves with purified souls and minds."

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CHAPTER VII.—EUCHARIST.

1. INTRODUCTION.

How far should we take what Philo says about mystic food and drink as pure allegory, without any actual reality of a sacrament behind it? Or how far may we look for some sacramental reality behind his rhetoric?

First, we have the religious rites connected with every pagan dinner (the cup to Zeus Soter, the Savior); and those with the Jewish dinner, when the master of the feast officiated and toasted the wine. The universal religious aspects of every meal may very easily have given rise to a mystic explanation of them. Jewish religious scruples about eating no doubt served to cement religion to that act.

The mystic banquet of the Therapeuts (or whatever may have justified that account), however, puts a deeper construction on these "theories" of Philo's, and the question mooted above can not be dismissed, but may have to remain as an unsettled problem.

However, there can be no question that such bold doctrinal statements may have perpetuated themselves, and eventually led to a practical application of them by persons who may in naive devotion have supposed Philo meant what he said,—if it is insisted Philo spoke without any intention of being taken seriously.

2. PREMISSES.

(a) In order to understand Philo's views without prejudice we who live in the age of morose prohibitionists who are the prophets of the Coming Age when, perchance, the vine may be kept in museums as a curiosity, as horses may then be kept in zoological gardens, must transport ourselves to the Mediterranean where even yet to-day wine is one of the staples of life; then back to an age when the God of the Vine was one of the twelve Gods, in whose temples drinking was a religious rite; when even

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Jerusalem had been the scene of Bacchic processions (B. C. 174, 2 Macc vi. 7) and a golden vine adorned the entrance of the holy places.

(b) Our second premiss is supplied by Philo himself.[1] He is dealing with and for grown men and women—not to children and youths who need the tender, milklike, childish, infantine food; for whom the "encyclical" sciences of primary education suffice. He is speaking to those who need strong meat because they are "in the prime and vigor of youth and energy," who "deal in acts of virtue," who are ready for "philosophy," "manliness," who are in good condition, seek a favorable end, and whose end is "to live in conformity with nature," the Aristotelian definition of happiness.

It is to be remarked that the Church has always continued this distinction, and not admitted children to the Sacrament.[2]

(c) Philo's ideal of wisdom[3] was aged, thoughtful, prudent amusement and mirth. He had no sympathy for a "stern-looking and sordid kind of wisdom, contracted by profound thought and ill-humor"; but he seeks one that "wears a tranquil and cheerful appearance, being full of joy and happiness."

(d) Philo mentions the derivation of *methuein,* to be drunk. "From *meta to thuein* (after sacrificing) it was the custom of the men of old to drink great quantities of wine. . . For, first of all, they offered up prayers and instituted sacrifices; and then, having propitiated the deity, and having purified their bodies and souls, the former with baths, and the latter with the waters of laws and of right instructions, they then turned their cheerful and rejoicing countenances to more luxurious food, very often not returning home but, walking about in the temple in which they sacrificed, in order that, by keeping in mind their sacrifices, and having a due respect for the place, they might enjoy what should really be a most sacred feast, doing no wrong either in word or deed.[4]

(e) There is[5] another derivation from *methesis,* relaxation.

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(f) An ideal wise man does not have a bilious attack, never sleeps or dies; but such an ideal is "either an inanimate being or a divine one: but beyond all question he is not a man at all."[6] It is for the human man that Philo is writing.

(g) It is also premised that wine, as any other gift of God, is to be taken in measure[7] "and of not taking more than is necessary for us," but collecting it like the manna, from day to day as required, and given by the good giver God.

3. PHILO'S ARGUMENT FOR, AND APPROVAL OF INTOXICATION.

(a) Wine increases man's energies: if the man is bad, it will make him worse; but if good, better, and more good-humored: "so that in this respect we should not at all be wrong in saying that he may get drunk."[8]

(b) As there are bad as well as good men who partake of sobriety, so must it also be of intoxication, "therefore the virtuous man will get drunk without losing any of his virtue by it."[9]

(c) Physicians are divided on the evil effects of drink; hence "to drink a superabundant quantity of wine on a proper occasion is not unsuitable to a wise man: therefore we shall not be wrong if we say that a wise man may get drunk."[10]

There is therefore a "sober intoxication" of prophetic inspiration that is desirable.[11]

4. THE DIVINE VINE, BRANCHES, CUP, CUP-BEARER.

We are now ready to understand the interest, cogency, importance and bearings of the mystic interpretation of the dream of Pharoah's butler of the vine and its branches.[12] We have heard the trunk of wisdom, and those who could not bear the weight of it, cut off a branch and its cluster of grapes.[13] None can be more than a part of this vine of happiness. The soul is the vineyard, and its fruit the divine shoot virtue. Hence we please not God by long journeys away from home,

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but we must stay near the vine of good and be united to it in mouth, heart, and hand, thinking, saying, and doing good things.[14]

The further argument as to the administration of this spiritual union is as follows:

The human soul[15] proffers its own reason as a cup.

The Logos-word is God's Cup-bearer and master of the Feast.

The Logos-word pours into the human soul-cup of sacred joy of wisdom.

Drink[16] makes the passionate man worse. He is compared to a chief-butler laboring hard to produce drunken folly; he is not at fault in the pouring, as he is appointed to it; the fault lies with Pharaoh-passion who commands it.

The temperate man is the chief-butler not of Pharaoh-passion, but of God, and is a priest in offering libations to the Logos-word.

The Logos-word, or truly great high-priest, having received the everlasting graces from God, pours into man (the lower chief-butler's) cup (of mind) unmixed wine, which is himself.

In thus acting[17] as intermediary the Logos-word himself is a divine goblet, both receiving and giving himself out.

The Logos-word[18] is a river flowing from wisdom as a spring no doubt through himself personally the goblet, to irrigate the celestial plants of such souls as love virtue as if they were a Paradise.

5. THE LOGOS—WORD IS THE BREAD FROM HEAVEN, GIVING HIMSELF TO BE FED ON.

We are now ready for the crowning statements.

"The soul, very often, when it is delighted, is yet unable to explain what it is that has delighted it; but it is taught by the hierophant and prophet Moses, who tells it, 'This is the bread, the food which God has given for the soul,' explaining that God has brought it, his own Logos-word and his own reason; for this bread which he has given us to eat is this Logos-word of his."[21]

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"'Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every Logos that proceedeth out of the mouth of God' (Dt viii. 3); that is to say, he shall be nourished by the whole Logos-word of God, and by every portion of it. For the mouth is the symbol of the language, and a word-logos is a portion of it. Accordingly the soul of the more perfect man is nourished by the whole Logos-word; but we must be content if we are nourished by a portion of it."

Speaking of the manna,[22] "Those also who have inquired what it is that nourishes the soul, for as Moses says, 'They knew not what it was,' learnt at last and found that it was the Logos-word of God and the divine reason, from which flow all kinds of instinctive and everlasting wisdom. This is the heavenly nourishment. . . . 'Behold I rain upon you bread from heaven' (Ex. xvi. 4), for in real truth it is God who showers down heavenly wisdom from above on all the intellects which are properly disposed for the reception of it, and which are fond of contemplation. But those who have seen and tasted it, are exceedingly delighted with it, and understand indeed what they feel, but do not know what the cause is which has affected them; and on this account they inquire, 'What is this which is sweeter than honey and whiter than snow?' And they will be taught by the interpreter of the divine will that 'this is the bread which the Lord has given them to eat.' What then is this bread? Tell us. 'This,' says he, 'is the Logos-word which the Lord appointed.'"

"This rock, Moses, in another place, using a synonymous expression, calls *manna* the most ancient Logos-word of God. . . . from which two cakes are made, one of honey and the other of oil. . . The fountain of divine wisdom is borne along, at one time in a more gentle and moderate stream, and at another with greater rapidity and a more exceeding violence and impetuosity. When, therefore, it descends gently it sweetens after the manner of honey; but when it comes on swiftly, the whole material enters like oil into the light of the soul."

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6. RESULTS OF THIS EUCHARIST FROM HEAVEN.

No doubt Philo was not over-careful with words, and meant much the same by the following different results of this Eucharistic Communion.

(a) Wisdom.

No doubt[27] the primary idea in Philo's mind: Moses alone drank the cup of unalloyed wisdom.[28] "'Behold,[29] I rain down upon you bread from heaven.' Now what nourishment can the Scriptures properly say is rained down, except heavenly wisdom? which God sends down from above upon those souls which have a longing for virtue." "Heavenly food,[30] which wisdom offers to contemplative men by means of discourses and opinions."

(b) Knowledge.

The Logos-word (?) is then the well of knowledge.[23] "Blessed therefore are they to whom it has happened to enjoy the delights of wisdom, and to feast upon its speculations and doctrines, and even of the being cheered by them still to thirst for more, feeling an insatiable and increasing desire for knowledge. And those will obtain the second place who are not allowed indeed to enjoy the sacred table, but who nevertheless refresh their souls with its odors."[24] "The soul. . . is supported by nourishment which is ethereal and divine, for it is nourished on knowledge, and not on meat and drink, which the soul requires."

No doubt we might put under this head "words and doctrines."[25] "This is the mind which has drunk strong draughts of the beneficent power of God, and has feasted on his sacred words and doctrines."

(c) Health.

The thirst[26] seizes on the soul "until God sends forth upon it the stream of his own accurate wisdom, and causes the changed soul to drink of unchangeable health."

(d) Immortality.

Last.[31] "'They have left me, the fountain of life, and they have digged for themselves cisterns already worn out, which will not be able to hold water' (Jer. 2:13).

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Therefore God is the most ancient of all fountains. And is not this very natural? For he it is who has irrigated the whole course of this world; and I am amazed when I hear that this is the fountain of life, for God alone is the cause of animation and life, and most specially of rational animation and of that life which is in union with prudence; for the matter is dead. But God is something more than life; he is, as he himself has said, the everlasting fountain of living." . . (which gives) "the draught of immortality." "A drink[32] contributing more than ever nectar, or at all events not less, to make those who drink of it immortal."

Such then are the banquets "on the labors of virtue" feasting on God's sacred words and doctrines.[33]

The mind full of sobriety is itself a libation to God.[34]

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CHAPTER VIII.
SPIRIT—INSPIRATION.

1. SPIRIT.

The idea of a divine spirit is in Philo still or mainly in picturesque figurative form. So he speaks of a "breeze of virtue."[1] And air and light he considered worthy of pre-eminence. For the one he called the breath of God, because it is air, which is the most life-giving of things; and of life the causer is God.[2] "Now the expression 'breathed into' is equivalent to 'inspired,' or 'gave life to' things inanimate; for let us take care that we are never filled with such absurdity as to think that God employs the organs of the mouth or nostrils for breathing into anything. . . Now that which breathes in is God; that which receives what is breathed in, is the mind; and that which is breathed in, is the Spirit.". . . "a union of the three takes place" and "the soul" "perceives God."[3] All intellect is a divine inspiration.[4] The Holy Spirit is knowledge.[5] In man the mind is holy, being a fragment of the deity.[6] We hear of the gentle breezes of knowledge and wisdom,[7] and wisdom blowing with a fresh breeze.[8] Souls are not to ascend the steps of the altar gradually (forbidden by law) but to proceed rapidly onwards with a favorable gale.[9]

The holy Spirit is lost by ignorance and anxieties.[10]

The method of participation by man is compared to the flame of a torch which does not grow less by communicating to 10,000 torches.[11]

The symbol of a dove is not by Philo applied to the Holy Spirit, but to wisdom. A turtle dove and a pigeon symbolize divine and human wisdom; the dove, like "divine wisdom is fond of lonely places," loving solitude, on account of the only God whose possession she is.[12]

2. ANOINTING.

The conception of anointing (*aleipho,* or *chrizo*) was familiar both to Greek and Jew, and represents all uses from the physical to the spiritual.

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(a) PHYSICAL.

Oil was used by athletes, and seems to have been exposed at the door of gymnasia in open vessels.[13] It was sanative[14]:

"Why need we seek for more in the way of ointment than the juice pressed out of the fruit of the olive? For that softens the limbs, and relieves the labor of the body, and produces a good condition of the flesh; and if anything has got relaxed or flabby, it binds it again, and makes it firm and solid, and it fills us with vigor and strength of muscle, no less than any other unguent."

(b) USEFUL IN RITUAL.

"The command of God was that all the sacrifices of the priests shall be wholly burnt, and that no portion of them shall be allotted for food." In order to avoid the loss of any crumbs or remainders, the wheaten flour offered half in the morning, and half in the evening was "soaked in oil."[15]

(c) RITUALISTIC.

The priest[16] and all the temple objects[17] were anointed and sprinkled with oil. The object of this seems to have been symbolic: "that they should have a share not only in that purity which was external and in the open air (blood), but also that which was in the inmost shrine," (where everything was anointed with oil).

(d) SYMBOLIC.

The priest takes a handful of oil and frankincense with the white wheat, which action "contain a figurative assertion" of the soul, "rejoicing in divine light, and redolent of the exhalations which are given forth by justice, and by the other virtues, so as always to enjoy a most fragrant, and delicious, and happy life."[18] Philo quotes Gen. xxxi. 13, Jacob anointing his pillar of stone at Bethel.[19]

"But do not fancy that that stone was anointed with oil, but understand rather that that opinion that God is the only being who stands firmly, was thoroughly hardened by exercise, and established in the soul by the science of wrestling, not that science by which bodies are made fat, but that by which the mind acquires strength and irresistible vigor; . . . he anoints and brings to perfection all the reasonings of virtue and piety, and dedicates them, as a most beautiful and lasting offering to God."

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(e) Spiritually Initiatory.

The full result of the above anointed mind wrestling is an initiation to divine light; the figure of an eye-salve may also have contributed to this:[20]

"And do not ever cease through weariness to anoint thy eyes until you have introduced those who are only initiated to the sacred light of the sacred scriptues, and have displayed to them the hidden things therein contained, and their reality, which is invisible to those who are uninitiated."

(f) The Word—Logos Christed.

The high priest is not a man, but the Word of God; God is his father, and wisdom his mother:[21]

"and also because he is anointed with oil, by which I mean that the principal part of him is illuminated with a light like the beams of the sun, so as to be thought worthy to be clothed with garments. And the most ancient word of the living God is clothed with the word as with a garment. . . . the mind of the wise man is clothed with virtues."

Very evidently there is here a purposive equivocation between the high-priest and the Logos; an evident attempt to assimilate them in the matter of being clothed; hence also in the matter of anointing (chrizein).

3. TEMPLE—WORLD.

We ought to look upon the universal world as the highest and truest temple of God, having for its most holy place that most sacred part of the essence of all existing things, namely, the heaven; and for ornaments the stars; and for priests, the subordinate ministers of his power, namely, the angels, incorporeal souls.[22]

4. TEMPLE—WISE MAN.

Not even if the whole earth was to become gold, and by the skill of workmen (be made) into porticoes, and vestibules and chambers, and precincts and temples—not even then could it be a place worthy for (God's) feet to tread upon; but a pious soul is his fitting abode.[23]

But let every one * * * pray to God that he may have as a dweller within him the Ruler of all things, who will raise his small house, the mind, to a great height above the earth and will connect it with the bounds of heaven.[24]

The mind of a wise man is the house of God, and he is called in an especial manner, the God of all mankind, as the prophet says when speaking of the mind of

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a wise man, he calls it "that in which God walks," as in a Palace.[25]

Now the God and governor of the Universe does by himself and alone walk about invisibly and noiselessly in the minds of those who are purified in the highest degree. For there is extant a prophecy which was delivered to the wise man, in which it was said, "I will walk *en*, among, you, and I will be your God." But the angels, the words of God—move about in the minds of those persons who are still in a process of being washed, but who have not yet completely washed off the life which defiles them, and which is polluted by the contact of their heavy bodies, making them look pure and brilliant to the eyes of virtue. * * * Do thou therefore, O my soul, hasten to become the abode of God, his holy temple; to become strong from having been most weak, powerful from having been powerless, wise from having been foolish; and very reasonable from having been doting and childless.[26] For it was an abode or sacred temple for a reasonable soul which was being made, the image of which he was about to carry in his heart, being the most God-like looking of images.[27]

5. HOW AND WHY MAN BECOMES THE TEMPLE OF GOD.

All intellect is an inspiration from God.[28]

"A certain divine excess was suddenly rendered calm to the man endowed with virtue; for the trance, or ecstasy as the word itself evidently points out, is nothing else than a departure of the mind wandering beyond itself.

"But the class of prophets loves to be subject to such influences; for when it is divining, and when the intellect is inspired with divine things, it no longer exists in itself, since it receives the divine spirit within, and permits it to dwell with itself; or rather, as he himself has expressed it, a spirit falls upon him; since does not come slowly over him, but rushes down on him suddenly.

"Moreover that which he has added afterward applies admirably, that a great horror of darkness fell upon him. For all these things are ecstasies of the mind; for he also who is in a state of alarm is not in himself; but darkness is a great hindrance to his sight; and no portion as the horror is greater, so also do his powers of seeing and understanding become more obscured."

And this is not said without reason: but as an indica-

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tion of the evident knowledge of prophecy by which oracles and laws are given from God.[29]

6. UNINTELLIGIBILITY AS PROOF OF INSPIRATION.

The best proof possible that a prophesying person is not deceiving himself in uttering prophesies made up by his own mind is that he should not understand that which he is uttering: then he is sure that it is inspired by the divine spirit.

Philo says that his own soul "was accustomed frequently to be seized with a certain divine inspiration, even concerning matters which it could not explain even to itself."[30] Again,[31]

"The things of which the soul is in travail by herself, the greater part are premature, and abortive progeny; but those on which God pours his showers and which he waters, are produced in a perfect, and entire, and most excellent state.

"I am not ashamed to relate what has happened to me myself, which I know from having experienced it ten thousand times. Sometimes, when I have desired to come to my usual employment to writing on the doctrines of philosophy, though I have known accurately what it was proper to set down, I have found my mind barren and unproductive, and have been completely unsuccessful in my object, being indignant at my mind for the uncertainty and vanity of its then existing opinions, and filled with amazement at the power of the living God, by whom the womb of the soul is at times opened and at times closed up; and sometimes when I have come to my work empty, I have showered upon me, and implanted in me from on high, so that, through the influence of divine inspiration, I have become greatly excited, and have known neither the place in which I was nor those who were present, nor myself, nor what I was saying, nor what I was writing; for then I have been conscious of a richness of interpretation, an enjoyment of light, a most penetrating light, a most manifest energy in all that was to be done, having such an effect on my mind as the clearest ocular demonstration would have on the eyes."

A striking instance of this is Balaam who though[32] "hired for money by the enemy. . . . bearing in his soul most bitter curses against the God-loving nature, but being compelled to utter prophetically with his mouth and tongue the most exquisite and sublime prayers in their favor; for the things that he said, being very excellent, were in fact suggested by the God who loves virtue; but the curses which he conceived in his mind (for they were wicked were the offspring of his mind, which hated virtue.")

"Some other prophet will appear. . . . saying nothing of his own (for he who is truly possessed and inspired, even when

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he speaks, is unable to comprehend what he is himself saying), but that all the words he should utter would proceed from him as if another was prompting him; for the prophets are interpreters of God, who is only using their voices as instruments, in order to explain what he chooses."

So also:[33]

"And by these men I mean soothsayers, and diviners, and augurs, and all other persons who practice what they call divination, studying, an art without any art, if one must tell the plain truth, a mere bare imitation of the real inspiration and prophetic gift; for a prophet does not utter anything whatever of his own, but is only an interpreter, another Being suggesting to him all that he utters, while he is speaking under inspiration, being in ignorance that his own reasoning powers are departed, and have quitted the citadel of his soul; while the divine spirit has entered in and taken up its abode there, and is operating upon all the organization of his voice, and making it sound to the distinct manifestation of all that prophecies he is delivering."

Finally, we read:[34]

"A certain divine excess was suddenly rendered calm to the man endued with virtue; for the trance, or ecstasy as the word itself evidently points out, is nothing else than a departure of the mind wandering beyond itself.

"But the class of prophets loves to be subject to such influence; for when it is divining, and when the intellect is inspired with divine things, it no longer exists in itself, since it receives the divine spirit within and permits it to dwell with itself; or rather, as he himself has expressed it, a spirit falls upon him; since it does not come slowly over him, but rushes down upon him suddenly.

"Moreover, that which he has added afterwards applies admirably, that a great horror of darkness fell upon him. For all these things are ecstasies of the mind. For he also who is in a state of alarm is not in himself, but darkness is a hindrance to his light; and in proportion as the horror is greater, so also do his powers of seeing and understanding become more obscured."

So also[35]

"the mind, being entirely occupied with divine love, bends its course towards the temple of God, and approaches it with all possible earnestness and zeal, it becomes inspired, and forgets all other things, and forgets itself also. It remembers him alone, and depends on him alone, who is attended by it as a bodyguard, and who receives its ministrations, to whom it consecrates or offers up the sacred and untainted virtues. But when the inspiration has ceased, and the excessive desire has relaxed, then it returns from divine things, and becomes a man again."

It is possible, however, that the psychological principle which led Philo to this extreme view of unintelligibility of divine inspiration is the very real unpredictableness

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of spiritual experience. He hints as much in the above quoted passage.[36] Elsewhere[37] he describes the times when seeing we do not see, and hearing we do not hear;[38] and how some persons seek ideas in vain while to others they come unsought as conjectures.

7. NATURE OF INSPIRATION.

This divine inspiration might be called an "*influx*."[39] There is no question about its being a divine inspiration of holy thoughts of God.[40] Some are inspired with a divinely inspired madness, are made ferocious, while others are companions of a more manageable and humanised wisdom;[41] while prophets are said to be under the influence of divine possession and phrenzy.[42] So persons are[43]

"made immortal through the medium of their ears; and it is said that Moses was an incorporeal hearer of these melodies, when he went for forty days, and an equal number of nights without at all touching any bread or any water.

"The God and Governor of the universe does by himself and alone walk about invisibly and noiselessly in the minds of those who are purified in the highest degree. For there is extant a prophecy which was delivered to the wise man in which it is said, 'I will walk *in*—among you, and I will be your God.'" (Lev. xxvi, 12.)

If inspiration is caused by the divinity, it is manifested in man in three ways, or kinds of dreams: first the unconscious, second the conscious, and third the symbolic.[44]

The first visions "proceeded from God as the author of its motion, and as some invisible manner prompted us what was indistinct to us, but well-known to himself."

The second or dreams

"When our intellect was set in motion simultaneously with the soul of the universe, and became filled with divine madness, by means of which it is allowed to prognosticate events which are about to happen. . . . as if God, by means of dreams, gave suggestions which were equivalent to distinct and precise oracles."

The second class of dreams need no other interpreter, though enigmatic, the meaning was not hidden from those who were able to see with any great acuteness.

The third kind are

"less clear. . . . by reason of their having an enigmatical meaning deeply seated and fully covered, require the science of an interpreter of dreams."

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This inspiration appears as, and is a mystic sort of inspirational "sober intoxication."[45]

"For in the case of those who are under the influence of divine inspiration, not only is the soul accustomed to be excited, and as it were to become frenzied, but also the body is accustomed to become reddish, and of a fiery complexion, the joy of which is internally diffused, and which is exulting, secretly spreading its affections even to the exterior parts, by which many foolish people are deceived, and have fancied that sober persons were intoxicated. And yet indeed those sober people are in a manner intoxicated, having drunk deeply of all good things, and having received pledges from perfect virtue. . . . and from this it results that the mind which is filled with unmixed sobriety is of itself a complete and entire libation, and is offered as such to, and consecrated to God."

This sober intoxication is defined as "unmingled" goodness of counsel, and the fruits thereof.[46]

So the Therapeuts spending the night in songs and meditation, "therefore, being intoxicated all night till the morning with this beautiful intoxication."[47]

This intoxicating inspiration is only divine intelligence: "Since all intellect is a divine inspiration."[48]

So, in Fragm on Ex. xxiii. 20, the "angel" indicated the voice of God: for the prophet is the messenger (aggelos) of the Lord, who is the real speaker."[49]

However[50] there is a strange conceit that the liver is smooth so as to be a mirror for the soul in sleep to see in it dreams of prophetic sight of future.

An excellent description of mystic illumination revealing a secret is found in:[51]

"When, therefore, the soul is shone upon by God as if at noonday, and when it is wholly and entirely filled with that light which is appreciable only by the intelligent, and by being wholly surrounded with its brilliancy, is free from all shade or darkness."

8. PROPHET.

An inspired man becomes a Prophet:[52]

"A genuine priest is at once also a prophet, having attained to the honor of being allowed to see the only true and living God, not more by reason of his birth than by reason of his virtue. And to a prophet there is nothing unknown, since he has within himself the sun of intelligence, and rays which are never overshadowed, in order to a most accurate comprehension of those things which are invisible to the outward senses, but intelligible to the intellect."

The similarity of the inspiration of the prophet to the

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sacrifice of the priest is also found in[53] in offering up its ministrations, and consecrating its sacred and untainted virtues.

The prophet is also the messenger-angel of the Lord,[54] as the Lord is the real speaker in the inspired prophet.

But it must not be thought that prophecy is an exceptional or exclusive gift. On the contrary, it is one of the abilities to which every good man has a claim and expectation.[55] "Accordingly all those whom Moses describes as just persons he has also represented as inspired and prophesying. Noah was a just man; was he not also by that fact a prophet?" So also Isaac, Jacob, Moses himself, and Abraham.

9. MIRROR.

The psychological explanation why man is spoken of as a mirror of God is found in:[56]

"We must also add to what has been here said, that the nature of the liver being of a lofty character and very smooth, by reason of its smoothness is looked upon as a very transparent mirror, so that when the mind, retreating from the cares of the day (while the body is lying relaxed in sleep, and while no one of the outward senses is any hindrance or impediment), begins to roll itself about, and to consider the objects of its thought by itself without any interruption, looking into the liver as into a mirror, it then sees, very clearly, and without any alloy, every one of the proper objects of the intellect, and looking round upon all vain idols, and seeing that no disgrace can accrue to it, but taking care to avoid that, and to choose the contrary, and being contented and pleased with all that it sees, it by dreams obtains a prophetic sight of the future."

So also:[57]

"The mind, roaming abroad, and straying beyond the confines of the outward senses, and of all the other affections of the body, begins to associate with itself, looking on truth as at a mirror, and discarding all the imaginations which it had contracted from the outward senses, becomes inspired by the truest divination respecting the future, through the instrumentality of dreams."

Of course glasses and mirrors, because of their then comparative rarity, were so much more striking objects of imagination and illustration, than they would be nowadays, and symbolized well for Philo his allegorical method of interpretation; as seeing a species in a genus, by those who look closely;[58] into the number;[59] into the story of the chief butler;[60] not into other things as mirrors

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of God, but to God himself.[61] Hence he mentions the Jews consecrating even their mirrors to make a laver for the tabernacle.[62]

10. ECSTATIC ASCENT OF THE SOUL.

The following are descriptions of the ascent of the soul:[63]

"There are some persons whom God, advancing to higher degrees of improvement, has enabled to soar above all species and genera, having placed them near himself as he says to Moses, 'But stand thou here with me.'"

"Abraham" * * * means "Lofty Father."[64]

"For when the mind does not, like a master, threatens the soul, but rather guides it, like a father, not indulging it in the pleasant things, but giving it what is expedient for it, even against its will, and also turning it away from all lowly things and such as lead it to mortal paths, it leads it to sublime contemplations and makes it dwell amid speculations on the world and its constitutent parts. And, moreover, mounting up higher, it investigates the Deity itself; and his nature, through an unspeakable lore of knowledge, in consequence of which it cannot be content to abide in the original decrees, but being improved itself, becomes also desirous of removing to a better habitation."

In the same rank[65]

"that the great Governor occupies in the universal world that same as it seems does the mind of man occupy in man; for it is invisible, though it sees everything itself; and it has an essence which is undiscernible, though it can discern the essences of all other things, and making for itself by art and science all sorts of roads leading in divers directions, and all plain; it traverses land and sea, investigating everything which is contained in either element. And again, being raised up on wings, and so surveying and contemplating the air, and all the commotions to which it is subject, it is borne upward to the higher firmament, and to the revolutions of the heavenly bodies. And also being itself involved in the revolutions of the planets and fixed stars according to the perfect laws of music, and being led on by love, which is the guide of wisdom, it proceeds onwards till having surmounted all essence intelligible by the external senses it comes to aspire to such as is perceptible only by the intellect; and perceiving in that the original models and ideas of those things intelligible by the external senses which it saw here full of surpassing beauty, it becomes seized with a sort of sober intoxication like the zealots engaged in Corybantian festivals, and yields to enthusiasm, becoming filled with another desire, and a more excellent longing by which it is conducted onwards to the very summit of such things as are perceptible only to the intellect till it appears to be reaching to the great King himself. And while it is eagerly longing to behold him pure and unmingled, rays of divine light are poured forth upon it like a torrent, so as to bewilder the eyes of its intelligence by their splendor."

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CHAPTER IX.—ESCHATOLOGY.

1. THE END OF THE WORLD.

Philo wrote a long treatise "On the incorruptibility of the world" in which he opposed the doctrines of the Stoics about conflagrations and degeneration of the world.[1] Time did not exist before the world but is only "an interval of the motion of the world."[2] However[3] he suggests that various parts of it, at various times, are destroyed and combined in another form, having thus a sort of Harrisonian immortality. Nevertheless[4] deluges and conflagrations, partial in mature, in turn occur after very long periods of revolving years. Hence science and art are at each cycle forced to begin again, in thinner numbers.[5]

The prize of justice which Noah-Deucalion received was "preservation at the time of general destruction" by water at the flood.[6]

If these destructions come by turns, the next one must have been one by fire: and that occured to the Sodomites, on account of whose sins that district was "condemned by the Judge of the whole world."[7]

Logically, of course, the next cataclysm would be one of water; but Philo does not even seem to think of the future; perhaps, following his principle of compromise he refused to consider dangerous ground. He does not claim to be a prophet; his only prophecy that the sacrifices offered at Jerusalem in behalf of the Roman Emperor would continue to be offered for ever—uttered only 30 years before Jerusalem's destruction—was unfortunate.[8] Drummond says:

"Philo anticipates the final triumph of good over evil in the world. Peace and wealth and long life will bless a race which has been won to virtue, and has tamed the wild beasts in the soul.[9] Especially will the Israelites be blessed, being gathered together in their own land under the leadership of a wonderful vision," invisible to all who are not saved, being interceded for and obtaining reconciliation with the Father.[10] There will be a sudden reflowering of ancient glory. While those who ridiculed

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them and feasted on their fast days will be terror-stricken at their renewed influence.

Daehne[11] thought Philo considered a unification of the Logos and the Christ-Messiah,[12] where anointing seems mentioned of the most ancient word, constructively.

But all this is uncertain.

2. TRANSLATION AND RESURRECTION.

(a) For individuals, there is a sort of translation like Enoch or Elijah's for every good man[13]: "The end of virtuous and holy men is not death but a translation, and migration, and an approach to some other place of abode."

(b) He continues this description of translation thus[14]:

"Those persons who are insatiable in their desire for wisdom and knowledge are said in the sacred oracles to be 'called up' (Ex. xix. 20). . . . who have been inspired by him. . . . For it would be a terrible thing if whirlwinds and hurricanes have power to tear up trees by the roots, and to toss them in air. . . . and yet if the mind, which is intrinsically light, cannot be raised up by the nature of the Divine Spirit, which is able to do everything, and to subdue all things below, and cannot be elevated to an exceeding height; and especially the mind of man who studies philosophy in a genuine manner. . . . but he is borne upwards, being insatiably devoted to sublime, holy, magnificent, and happy natures."

(c) It is this Philo may have looked on as a resurrection.[15] Sleep is "a thing to teach us to meditate upon death, and a shadow and outline of the resurrection which is hereafter to follow."

3. ANTE-MORTEM—DEATH AND IMMORTALITY.

Following Heraclitus of Ephesus,[16] Philo holds the doctrine of an ante-mortem living death of the wicked[17] which is not the separation of soul and body at death, but a gradual destruction of the soul by vice, during life.[18] It is forsaking immortality.[19]

The natural complement to Ante-mortem death is ante-mortem "immortality," which is earned by acquisition of virtue[20] and by practice of philosophy,[21] "receiving share of immortal life" by approaching God.[22] Only he who has seen temperance and God is safe from death.[23] We are even made immortal by listening to inspired melodies of prophets and universe and angels.[24] True everlasting

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life is to live in obedience to, and worship of God—to proceed cheerfully from death to immortality. We thus reach the abode of immortality.[25] Therefore[26] God exhorts man to run to the highest Logos of God which is the fountain of wisdom, in order that by drinking of that stream he may find everlasting life instead of death. It is also imparted by Eucharistic drinking which see.

4. JUDGMENT.

While we do not hear anything very clear about any one special day of judgment, Philo is sure of absolute justice, so that a bad man will not lose reward for a single good action done among many evil ones, or a good man fail to be punished for a single bad action among many good ones.[27]

5. SIN AND REPENTANCE.

The usual Greek word for sin is *hamartano,* meaning "to miss the mark," as an arrow. Hence it is interesting to notice Philo's expression of a "reason which is aimed at truth like an arrow."[28]

The word for repentance means literally "to change one's mind;" and Philo gives it almost disproportionate space in his system. His order of excellence is[29] 1, perfection; 2, repentance, and next lower, 3, lover of God and lover of virtue; and again[30] next below, as Moses was below Enoch, hope. So, philosophically, he prizes what is worse as being valuable if used for improvement;[31] it earns indulgence for oneself, it promotes reconciliation, and averts divine anger[32] (ib). Again, next to perfection is placed, when one has erred, repentance[33] and symbolically is indicated by the number 365[34] as typified by the solar orbit, alternation of agitation and resultant virtue; and as the sun hides the stars, to oblivion of past offences. It earned Noah[35] preservation at time of general destruction, and,[36] in the great abundance of kind mercy of the beneficent Savior, the latter[37] allows a space of time for repentance of sinners of the world before general cataclysmic punishments.

A man inclined to confession, being inflamed by gratitude to God, is intoxicated with a certain sober intoxication.[38] There are three different kinds of repentance,[39]

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typified by beasts, birds, and flour of sacrifices, according to the degree of their intensity,—in intention, word, and act.[40] The real priest in man[41] is conviction of having erred.

6. CHASTISEMENT.

Chastisement by God[42] is a blessing and is to be prayed for, and is preferable to abandonment by God's avenging power. Punishment[43] is indeed the greatest good to foolish souls. Philo wrote a whole book on Punishment and rewards which should, all of it, be consulted. The results of chastisement are better in schoolboys, for instance, than lack of it;[44] and there is a special Angel of Reproof, at the same time friendly and full of advice teaching the soul the complementary virtues of shame and confidence.[45]

7. PURGATORY AND UNPARDONABLE SIN.

The purpose of punishment is not vindicative, but sanatory. "If however they receive these exertions of power not as aiming at their destruction, but rather at their admonition and improvement, and if they feel shame throughout their whole soul, and change their ways, reproaching themselves for their errors, and openly avowing and confessing all the sins that they have committed against themselves with purified souls and minds, so as in the first place to exhibit a sincerity of conscience utterly alien from falsehood, and concealing nothing evil beneath; and secondly, having their tongues also purified so as to produce improvement in their hearers, they will then meet with a favorable acceptance from their merciful Savior, God."[46]

There are limits to purgatory however. There is such a thing as absolute rejection by God, for deserters (Gen. vi 1), probably meant for renegade Jews.[47] "There is no pardon whatever to be given those who blaspheme the deity * * * to say that the origin of evil is not in us, but in God."[48]

8. ETERNAL PUNISHMENT.

The man of noble descent who has adulterated the courage of his noble birth (Jewish) will be * * * hurled down to Tartarus and profound darkness.

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They will be afflicted with destruction of food and crops;[49] famine;[50] to the point of cannibalism;[51] slavery and plundering;[52] diseases;[53] cowardice;[54] loss of holidays;[55] forming seven curses.[56]

The evil are punished by being abandoned to their pleasure, appetites and injustice; a worse place than fabled Hades, the true Hades of life of wicked man, exposed to vengeance, flagitious, liable to curses.[57] The divine shepherd is likely to punish moderately the curable, but severely the incurable.[58] He is marked so as never to be pitied; not die once but pass all his time in dying in griefs, pains, calamities; in self-pity; in foresight of future unavoidable misfortunes; hopeless; in fearful anticipations.[59]

9. EVERLASTING LIFE.

True wisdom is one of the future rewards for man, stored up for him.[60]

The proselyte who has come over being lifted up on high by good fortune will be a conspicuous object.[61]

Virtues are their own reward, as we have seen; the spirit of God will abide within us;[62] we will want little when in immortality we share the self-sufficing-ness of God,[63] drawing near and abiding near God in quietness;[64] communing with the Platonic "alone with the alone,"[65] being in the New Jerusalem, the vision or contemplation of peace, and finding there "at the end" "life and immortality."[66] Man being himself a short-lived heaven[67] receives heaven as an inheritance.[68] The mind is called a heaven, because natures only comprehended by intellect are in heaven,[69] the abode of immortality[70] where is inspired music[71] whose hearing confers immortality.[72]

10. THE NEW JERUSALEM.

Jerusalem is a symbol of contemplation of divine peace;[73] a river flows through it;[74] is the inheritance of peace.[76] In the paradise where is the "end—life and immortality" are trees of life, of immortality, of comprehension, of understanding, of knowledge of good and evil,[77] trees and plants that have reason.[78]

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CHAPTER X.—SALVATION.

I. GOD IS MAN'S SAVIOR.

One of the most frequent words applied by Philo to God is *savior* (*soter*) and *benefactor,*[1] which we have already seen applied to one of God's powers as merciful,[2] and seems confused with the *logos.*[3] God is the *only savior,*[4] and full of love for mankind,[5] the *most merciful and only savior;*[6] the *holy savior,*[7] the *savior of all men;*[8] we hear of the *attractive mercies of the savior.*[9] The Lord is *my light and my savior;*[10] the very thought of God blesses and heals diseases of the mind.[11]

By what means does God save? By virtue and gifts of God. So prudence is a *saving virtue,*[12] and we hear of *saving instruction,*[13] and *saving fire,*[14] and untroubled salvation and unalloyed benefits.[15]. The sick are to ascribe to God the cause of their preservation, and not to any physician.[16] God saves from hunger.[17] We ought to propitiate God by prayer to allow his saving mercy to be shown to us everlastingly.[18] We are to seek remission of sins, and respite of all cares since childhood[19] by repentance for past sins[20]. Repentance in an unflattering and incorruptible counsellor who propitiates the merciful God by sacred hymns[21].

The following passages may illustrate this idea more perfectly:

God, having taken pity on mankind, as being a saviour full of love for mankind.[5]

The Saviour, the God who rules in the world, and who is able, either by means of natural things or without them, to nourish, and to preserve us.[22]

Abraham was propitiating and supplicating God, entreating him if there could not be found among his creatures a complete remission so as to give them liberty (of which the number 50 is the symbol), might be accepted for the sake of the deliverance of the soul which was about to be condemned.[23]

God . . . is that propitious and beneficient being, the most merciful and only saviour.[24]

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This Salvation is not arbitrary; it has a cosmological foundation, just as we saw[2] the saving element in God was one of his powers. So we read that[25]:

Eliezer means *God is my helper* because

Since the mass of the body, which is filled with blood, being of itself easily dissolved and dead, has its existence through, and is kept alive by the providence of God, who holds his arm and shield of defence over it, while our race cannot, by any resources of its own, exist in a state of firmness and safety for a single day.

II. ANGELS AS SAVIORS.

Winged natures[26] descend to save men from their passions by making them unproductive.

III. THE GOOD SHEPHERD.

Philo speaks of a *good shepherd*[27] which, as we shall see below most probably applies to the Word Logos, although it certainly applies to God, mediately or immediately. A *shepherd* is a good and faithful manager of the sheep, while the unfaithful managers are only *keepers*.[28] We meet the term shepherd frequently;[29] also guide.[30]

It is applied to:

(a) MEN: Joseph as administrator in Egypt;[31] Jacob and Kings,[32] to Moses the great and noble.[33]

(b) CHURCH: The assembly of the Lord was not as sheep without a shepherd.[34]

(c) GOD: Philo bases himself on Ps xxiii. 1, as follows[27]:

This indeed being a shepherd is a good thing, so that it is justly attributed, not only to kings and to wise men and to souls who are perfectly purified, but also to God the ruler of all things, "The Lord is my Shepherd, and He shall cause me to lack nothing."

(d) The LOGOS-WORD: How far does Philo mean to apply the term to the Logos-word? From the following, it would appear that the Logos-word was only the superintendent employed by, or lieutenant of the *Shepherd* God:

"For God like a shepherd and king governs (all things and men); appointing as his immediate superintendent (prostesamenos) his own right (orthos) logos-reason, his first-born (protogonos) son, who is to receive charge of this sacred com-

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pany" (all creation and humanity), "as the lieutenant of the great king; for it is said somewhere (Ex. xxiii. 20), 'Behold, I am he! I will send (apostolize) my messenger (angel) before thy face, who shall keep thee in the road.'"

However, this quotation shows that the Logos-word is the immediate superintendent of men and creation. Hence when we find the *good shepherd*[34] applied to the uniter of the flock of 'the whole multitude of the parts of the human soul,' it must apply to the Logos-word.

But the providence of God is the principal and almost the only cause that the divisions of the soul are not left entirely without a governor, and that they have met with a blameless and in all respects good shepherd.[35]

IV. GOD SEEKS THE LOST.

The angel of the Lord seeks out the erring.[36] God, having taken pity on mankind, as being a savior, and full of love for mankind.[37] We read also[38] that

There is an old story . . . that the Divinity . . . goes round the different cities of men, searching out the deeds of iniquity and lawlessness . . . God assumes the likeness of the angels, as he sometimes assumes even that of men, for the sake of assisting those who address their entreaties to him . . . he . . . took the place of an angel . . . for the advantage of him who was not as yet able to bear the sight of the true God. . . . so also do those who are unable to bear the sight of God, look upon his image, his messenger-angel Logos-word, as himself.

V. GOD SEEKS THE LOST IN INCARNATE FORM.

In the same place we find the following:

There is an old story much celebrated, that the Divinity, assuming the resemblance of men of different countries, goes around the different cities of men, searching out the deeds of iniquity and lawlessness; and perhaps though the fable is not true, it is a suitable and profitable one. But the Scripture . . . has spoken of God under the likeness of a man, though not of any particular man . . . Why then do we any longer wonder if God at times assumes the likeness of the angels, as he sometimes assumes even that of men, for the sake of assisting those who address their entreaties to him? So that when he says, "I am the God who was seen by thee in the place of God," we must understand this, that he on that occasion took the place of an angel, as far as appearance went, without changing his own real nature, for the advantage of him who was not, as yet able to bear the true sight of God; . . . so also do those who are unable to bear the sight of God look upon his image, his angel word, as himself.

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VI. SACRIFICE OF THE ONLY BEGOTTEN SON.

The idea of mediation implies logically some sort of mutual relationship which may very naturally be represented under the figure of self-sacrifice. The whole of paragraph 4 of Chapter VII, on the *Divine Vine, Branches, Cup, and Cup-bearer* should be re-read in this connection.

Philo however does not hesitate to speak of the most holy sacrifice of self-immolation[39]:

> And the mind is in every respect superior to the outward sense, as the man is to the woman; who, when he is without blemish, and purified with the proper purifications, namely the perfect virtues, is himself the most holy sacrifice, being wholly and in all respects pleasing unto God.

Philo mentions the self-immolation of Iphigenia, of children, and of Hindu wives;[40] and while discussing Abraham's giving up *his only-begotten son* Isaac for sacrifice[41] says,

> But this man (Abraham) like a priest of sacrifice; himself did himself begin to perform the sacred rite.

The victim[42] should be burdened with the material of its own sacrifice.

The father being logos-reason[43] and the mother being custom,

> The mind[44] *will sacrifice its beloved son,* not a man (for the wise man is not a slayer of his children), but the male offspring of a virtuously living soul.

VII. MEDIATOR BETWEEN GOD AND MAN, AND ADVOCATE.

We have seen, under *Good Shepherd,* that the Logos-word was the superintendent under God, his lieutenant or vice-gerent.[27] The Jewish high-priest was an image of the Logos-word, being called into existence by the same logical necessity of intermediation.[45]

> The high-priest must be on the borders between the two in order that men may propittiate God by some mediator, and that God may have some subordinate minister by whom he may offer and give his mercies and kindnesses to mankind.

So a high priest, from Lev. xvi. 17, is not to be a man, and not God, though Moses was called the god of Pharaoh,[46]

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but he touches both these extremities as if he touched both the feet and the head.

The intimate union between the Jewish high-priest and the Logos-word is well brought out.[47]

"For it was indispensable that the man who was consecrated to the Father of the world, should have as *paraclete-advocate, his* (God's) *son,* the being most perfect in all virtue, *to procure* forgiveness *of sins,* and a supply of unlimited blessings; perhaps, also he is thus giving a previous warning to the servant of God, even if he is unable to make himself worthy of the Creator, of the world, at least to labor incessantly to make himself worthy of the word himself; the image of which he is clothed in," (the *logeum* of the Urim and Thummim "in a manner that binds him from the time that he puts it on, to bear about the pattern of it in his mind, so that he shall be in a manner changed from the nature of a man into the nature of the world, and, if one may say so (and one may by all means and at all times speak the plain truth in sincerity), become a little world himself."

This necessity of thought for a mediator between God and man applies not only to the Logos-word and high-priest, but also to angels, who become mediators, 'do thou speak for us, and let not God speak to us, lest we die.'[48]

VIII. THE MEDIATOR CONNECTED WITH A VIRGIN.

Both the high-priest as mediator and the Logos-word, or, reasoning are refered to as connected with a virgin[49]:

But the high-priest of whom we are speaking is a perfect man, the husband of a virgin (a most extraordinary statement) who has never been made a woman; but who on the contrary has ceased to be influenced by the customs of woman in regard to her connection with her husband (Gen. xviii. 11). And not only is this man competent to sow the seed of unpolluted and virgin opinions, but he is also the father of sacred *logoi* (*reasonings*), some of which are overseers and superintendents of the affairs of nature, such as Eliazar and Ithamar.

IX. THE REDEEMER OF SCATTERED JEWS.

The political persecution to which the Jews in Alexandria were subjected by Flaccus, and other governors made it inevitable that Philo should look for political redemption, and a gathering of the scattered Jews to the

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Holy Land. This redeemer or messiah he thus speaks of[50]:

A man will come forth . . . leading a host and warring furiously who will subdue great and populous nations, God sending that assistance which is suitable for pious men . . . intrepid hardihood of soul, and irresistible strength of body . . . he will have dignity, terror, and beneficence . . . (causing) respect . . . fear . . . and good-will . . . which when they are mixed together in the soul render subjects obedient to the ruler.

Is this redeemer to be a *man,* or a superhuman being? Let the reader judge for himself from the italicised passage.[51]

"For even though they may be at the very extremities of the earth, acting as slaves to those enemies who have led them away in captivity, still they shall all be restored to freedom in one day, as at a given *signal;* their sudden and universal change to virtue causing a panic among their masters; for they will let them go, because they are shamed to govern those who are better than themselves.

"But when they have received this unexpected liberty, those who but a short time before were scattered about in Greece, and in the country of the barbarians, in the islands, and over the continents, rising up with one impulse, and coming from all the different quarters imaginable, all hasten to one place pointed out to them, *being guided on their way by some vision, more divine than is compatible, with its being of the nature of man, invisible indeed to everyone else, but apparent only to those who were saved,* having their separate inducements and intercessions, by whose intervention they might obtain a reconciliation with the Father."

The causes of this redemption are 1, God's pitiful nature that would always rather have mercy than punishment; 2, the virtue of the Jews, which gives strength to their prayers; and 3, the good opinion of the pagoms extorted by virtue of the Jews.

X. IT IS GOD WHO GIVETH THE VICTORY.

We read[52]:

And thanks be to God who giveth the victory, and who renders the labors of the man who is a slave to his passions, though ever so carefully carried out, still unproductive, and useless; sending down winged natures in an invisible manner for their destruction and overthrow.

XI. DEIFICATION OR APOTHEOSIS.

While we have seen that Philo found fault with the Egyptians for ennobling beings not noble by nature, and calling them divinities, we also saw that, particularly in

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regard to mysteries, Philo had the weakness of using on his own side the arguments he found fault with when used against him. Consequently we are not surprised at his unequivocal assertion of the divinity of man. Moses received the inheritance of that name from Ex. vii. 1, being called *the god of Pharaoh*,[46] which, as the reader may notice, was an Egyptian event. And we read again[53]

But the lawgiver of the Jews ventures upon a more bold assertion than even this, inasmuch as he was, as it is reported, a student and practiser of plain philosophy; and so he teaches that the man who is wholly possessed with the love of God, and who serves the living God alone, is no longer man, but actually God, being indeed the God of men, but not of the parts of nature, in order to leave the Father of the universe the attributes of being both and God.

Man is kindred to God,[54] and is a heaven,[55] and is to the world what God is to him.[56]

Immortality consists in *cheerfully* living in obedience to, and worship of God,[57] and piety to the Gods.[58] It may therefore be attained in various way: by acquiring virtue,[59] by philosophy,[60] by seeing temperance and the vision of God,[61] by drinking the cup of wisdom, which more than nectar makes men immortal, and by banqueting on the labors of virtue,[62] feasting on God's sacred words and doctrines;[63] so that they are accounted gods to whom the word of God came. Also by hearing the inspired melodies[64] the strains of the music of heaven.[65] Man is a fragment or ray of the divine nature.[66] We therefore are in properly guarded emanationism:[67]

Of the rational faculty God—I will not say partakes—but is the ruler, and that is the fountain of the most ancient Logos-word.

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CHAPTER XI.—THE THERAPEUTS.

I. AUTHENTICITY AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PHILONIC ACCOUNT.

With much regret, it seems impossible to omit reference to the *Therapeuts,* for the reason that all the knowledge we possess about them is derived from the Philonic tract *On the Contemplative Life, or, On the Virtues of Suppliants.* While he also describes the *Essenes* of Palestine and Syria, of whom we hear from other writers, it will be sufficient to contrast them with the Therapeuts, using them as a foil to define the latter more clearly.

It is also impossible to touch the subject without giving some slight account of the vexed state of the question, although we cannot enter into the confessional discussions. Let it suffice to give a brief summary of Wendland's views. He considers it genuinely Philonic because it has better external testimony than any other of the undisputed works; it also has inner support from Philonic and Jewish literature. The words, grammar and style are also Philonic. There are Jewish and Egyptian formative conditions for such a society. Wendland considers that Philo to some extent attributed to this society of retired *scribes* or students of the scriptures, his own views, and that the book was written as a polenic against Chairemon (A. D. 40, teacher of Nero and former Librarian of the Alexandria library) whose then recent description of the Egyptian priests is found in Porphyry's *On Abstinence* iv. 6, 7. This would explain the presence in Philo's tract of apparently extraneous material—such as the polemic against star—and animal-worship, and the allegoric explanation of pagan myths, all of which would directly apply to Chairemon, who was a stoic.

Incidentally, we may once more point out Philo's inconsistency. We have already seen that he opposed pagan mysteries on the very two grounds which he used as arguments for his own. So we find Philo objecting to the Stoic's attempt to interpret the pagan myths allegorically, while his own chief significance for philosophy

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and religion is his attempt to save the Hebrew stories, in the eyes of pagans, by the very same method.

This was a tacit recognition that the allegoric method can be used successfully to prove or vindicate anything. It might be called the *moral utilization of limited knowledge.* It is therefore itself no progress, and is exposed to perpetual destruction at every further step thereof. But as human knowledge, however progressive, will never transcend limitations; and as the moral need is ever present, allegory will never die out, though it may be hoped it will gradually be transmuted, by greater modesty, judgment, and liberality into a yet undreamed of helpfulness.

In short, the Therapeut community may be considered as Philo's ideal of what the New Jerusalem would be for allegorists, and should take its place alongside of Plato's *Republic,* Plotinos's *Platonopolis,* and Augustine's *City of God.*

On the whole, the Therapeut community has been taken entirely too seriously.

FIRST, it can have been no more than temporary, if for no other reason, because we hear of it from none but Philo. Again, they abstained from all profitable avocations, so that the association could have had no permanent foundation.

SECOND, these Therapeuts were probably no more than refugees of the more intellectual classes from persecution in Alexandria; it was inevitable they should form temporary groups, and in a land where *entheasts* meditated in temples, and where Hellenic (Stoic) culture allegorized even pagan myths, these same intellectual refugees would inevitably have spent their time allegorizing their own scriptures. Moreover, is it possible that their meetings by night only had any relation to the universal practice of refugees? There were Jewish refugees no doubt not only in Egypt, but all over the world.

THIRD, We have seen Philo's condemnation of literalism and painful accuracy. How could that mystic enthusiast have avoided, with entire honesty, reading into their society many of his own views?

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II. THERAPEUT-ESSENIC SIMILARITIES.

1. Both had their own writings, allegorical in character. 2. Abolished slavery. 3. They appeared at religious exercises, or banquets, clad in white garments. 4. They worshipped on the seventh day. 5. They considered the Deity to be the cause of good only. 6. Philo considered both to be the same, though representing different sides: the Therapeuts, the theoretical; the Essenes, the practical. He gave two derivations for the name *Therapeut:* from *healing* the diseases of the soul, or from *serving* God, the pun lying in the Greek verb *therapeuo.* The name *Essene* he derives, from *hosios,* holy (acknowledging the derivation as a mistake in Greek) 'because they were servants, *therapeutai,* of God.'

Evidently, apart from Philo's very unsatisfactory methods of interpretation, the two sects had little alike, though more in common.

III. THERAPEUT-ESSENIC DIFFERENCES.

1. *The Therapeuts admitted men and women-virgins on equal terms;* the Essenes admitted men only; of a certain age, though they chose and trained boys. One sect of Essenes, after a trial marriage of three years, married, for the birth of children only.

2. *The Therapeuts abandoned their wealth to relatives and friends on joining the order.* The Essenes turned all their posessions over to the steward of the order.

3. *The Therapeuts lived simply, but annointed their bodies with oil, added hyssop to their diet of bread and salt for those whose taste was more delicate; they had luxuries, even if cheap,—such as straw cushions for banquets; had distinctly cheerful meetings at their convivial party; 'joyful with most exceeding gravity' 'intoxicated all night with this intoxication'; cultivated hymns and psalms, both individually and in responsive choruses, in imitation of Moses and Miriam on crossing the Red Sea.* The Essenes considered the touch of oil a defilement; psalms or hymns are not mentioned; they were utmost stoics, avoiding all pleasure on principle; their silence

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terrified strangers as 'a terrible mystery'; their dining-room was as 'a certain holy temple.'

4. *The Therapeuts spent the whole day in their sanctuary, or monastery, (solitary place), 'performing the mysteries of a holy life' in contemplation and study of the Scriptures and their own writings.* The Essenes were hard working, stoical, long-houred workingmen: farmers, herdsmen, shepherds, bee-keepers, artisans. They obeyed stewards who directed work, finance, and social life.

5. *The Therapeuts lived separated from each other, each in his cell, coming together only at night for their banquet; also their Sabbath, and their 'pentecostal' seventh sabbath feast.* The Essenes, worked and lived in common day and night, and were excessively strict sabbatarians.

6. *The Therapeuts, who did no physical or gainful labor whatever, did not need to eat but once at night, without any time for sleep mentioned.* The Essenes who worked so extremely hard and long had two common meals a day, and no doubt slept at night.

7. *The Therapeuts did not have obligatory lustrations;* the Essenes were at times called *hemerobaptistae* from the noon cold bath, before putting on their white robes for the midday meal.

8. *The Therapeuts seem to have no financial management whatever. They are supposed to have abandoned all their possessions to their friends before admission. Hence there is need of explanation whence were provided their separate several-roomed houses, white garments and feast-provisions, which throws grave doubt over the actuality of the Therapeuts, who, besides, are not mentioned by any other writer.* The Essenes, mentioned by Philo, Josephus, Pliny, (Solinus, Porphyry), deposited their wages, whence the overseer supplied common food, garments, medical attention, and support in old age.

9. *The Therapeuts seem to have had no special regard for age, as their elders were chosen not according to age, but maturity in speculative philosophy; no classes are mentioned.* The Essenes were divided into classes

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(Philo) which, besides a one year probation, and a two years' novitiate, were four (Josephus) or eight (Talmud), so strictly separated that a member of the upper class had to bathe himself when he touched anything of a lower class; the upper classes having certain mysteries, to be held sacred, under compulsion of a great oath.

10. *Admission to the Therapeuts is not defined by Philo.* With the Essenes organization was so powerful that outcasts were liable to starve.

11. *The Therapeut canon seems to have been Law, Prophets, Psalms and hymns, and later writings, besides their own books.* The Essenes are not credited with more than Law, Prophets, and their own books.

12. *The Therapeut revered the Jerusalem Temple and the Levitical priesthood, apparently remaining orthodox, though celebrating on the Sabbath.* The Essenes considered they had holier sacrifices than those of the Temple, but furnished contributions, arousing violent opposition. They were, however, excessively strict sabbatarians.

13. *Philo does not specify any of the mysteries of the Therapeut allegorical interpretation. Perhaps we may have to look for them in Philo's own mysteries, detailed above.* The Essenes had belief in (1) immortality of soul; (2) predestination by fate, (3) names of angels, (4) preparation for coming of the Messiah in their highest Elias grade. (5) They searched writings and nature to gather medical lore, and (6) practised prophesy and (7) healing and resurrections; (8) practised baptism, and (9) abstained from annointing with oil. Their grades are said to have been as follows: I. (1) baptism, outward purity; (2) abstaining from intercourse with women. II. (3) spiritual purity; (4) meekness. III. (5) holiness; (6) inspiration as temples of the Holy Ghost in prophecy; IV. (7) healing and raising the dead; (8) becoming Eliases, as forerunners of the Messiah.

On the whole, therefore, the Essenes and Therapeuts seem to have had but little in common.

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(1) 1.74-LA 27. (2) 1.85-LA 2.7; 1.170-LA 3.84. (3) 1.108-LA 3.2. (4) 1.244-QDPI 15; 1.46-MO 54. (5) 1.284-QDPI 46; 1.405-AN 30. (6) 1.423-PN 9. (7) 4.401-QG 74. (8) 1.244-QDPI 15. (9) 1.423-PN 9. (10) 2.41-CL 37. (11) 4.18-VC 10. (12) 2.168-CEG 10. (13) 1.47-MO 56; 1.63-LA 1.14; 1.288-PC 2; 2.41-CL 37; 2.437-A 36; 3.262-LS 7; 4.288-QG 1.10; 4.395-QG 2.65; 4.423-QG 3.16; 4.457-QG 3.54. (14) 1.199-GC 28; 2.259-MN 18. (15) 1.187-GC 14. (16) 1.239-SAC 39; 1.108-LA 3.1; 1.166-LA 3.77; 1.182-Ch 9; 1.186-GC 12; 1.340-G 12; 1.460-E 10; 2.211-P 16; 2.238-MN 40; 2.326-So 26; 4.245-FrJD 533; 4.255-FrJD 782; 4.336-QG 1.94. (17) 2.326-So 1.26. For following, 1.289-PC 5. (18) 1.239-SAC 39. (19) 1.79-LA 1.32. (20) 1.219-SAC 15. (21) 1.114-LA 3.8. (22) 1.505-S 4. (23) 1.187-GC 14. (24) 2.87-MA 36. (25) 1.261-QDPI 22. (26) 1.187-GC 14. (27) 1.125-LA 3.22; 134-LA 3.33; 1.166-LA 3.77. (28) 1.186-GC 12; 1.229-SAC 29; 1.289-PC 5 ;1.327-PC 50; 2.87-MA 36; 2.211-P 15; 2.323-So 23. (29) 1.139-LA 3.40; 1.165-LA 3.76 1.172-LA 3.87; 1.188-GC 15; 1.205-GC 35; 1.207-SAC 2; 1.253-QDPI 14; 1.258-QDPI 19; 1.283-QDPI 45; 1.292-PC 9; 1.319-PC 43; 1.404-AN 29; 1.464-E 14; 2.46-MA 3; 2.57-MA 12, etc. (30) 1.421-PN 6. (31) 1.220-SAC 16; 1.187-GC 14. (32)

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(1) 1.182-Ch 9. (2) 2.235-P 36. (3) 1.283-QDPI 44. (4) 2.209-P 14. (5) 2.239-MN 2. (6) 3.294-HP 1. (7) 1.287-PC 1. (8) 1.290-PC 6. (9) 1.53-LA 1.3. (10) 1.162-LA 3.73. (11) 1.166-LA 3.77. (12) 1.119-LA 3.14. (13) 2.343-So 1.43. (14) 2.383-So 2.33. (15) 2.382-So 2.32. (16) 2.383-So 2.33. (17) 3.269-DO 2.1. (18) 3.183-M 4. (19) 4.452-QG 3.48. (20) 1.338-G 10. (21) 1.5-MO 5; 1.68-LA 1.19; 1.265-QDPI 25; 1.322-PC 45; 1.512-S 11; 2.39-CL 36; 2.208-P 13; 2.237-P 38; 2.426-A 28; 3.484-P 20; 4.21-MI 1; 4.271-Fr MM; 4.288-QG 1.9; 4.339-QG 1.100. (22) 2.111-QHDR 19. (23) 1.434-PN 21. (24) PN 1.435-PN 22; 2.309-So 14. (25) 2.211-P 15. (26) 4.269-Fr MM. (27) 2.211-P 15. (28) QG 1.54. (29) 8.208-P 13. (30) 3.158-DC 20. (31) 2.49-MA 7. (32) 213-P 18. (33) 1.182-Ch. 9. (34) 1.219-SAC 15. (35) 1.102-LA 2.21. (36) 2.286-MN 42. (37) 1.133-LA 3.31, 32. (38) 2.214-P 18; 2.231-P 32; 1.386-So. 2.37; 3.100-VM 13; 1.102-LA 2.22. (39) 4.437-QG 3.34. (40) 1.262?QDPI 23. (41) Drummond Ph. 1. p. 110. (42) 1.4 to 6-MO 4 to 7. (43) 3.100-VM 13. (44) 1.187-Ch 14. (45) 2.31-CL 28. (46) 2.222-P 25; 1.389-AN 12. (47) 2.31-CL 28; 2.134-QHDR 42; 2.324-So 1.25. (48) 1.29-Mo 23. (49) 2.385-So 2.36. (50) 2.387-So 2.38. (51) 4.249-FrJD 748. (52) 1.237-SAC 37. (53) 1.389-AN 12. (54) 2.214-P 18; 2.231-P 32; 2.386-So 2.37. (55) 2.134-QHDR 42. (56) 2.34-So. 1.39. (57) 1.339-G 11; 2.65-MA 17; 2.337-So 1.37; 2.38-CL 35. (58) 2.134-QHDR 42. (59) 1.29-MO 23; 2.134-QHDR 42; 3.194-M 5. (60) 1.81-LA 2.2. (61) 1.429-PN 15. (62) 2.44-MA 1; 4.312-QG 1.54. (63) 2.116-QHDR 24. (64) 1.389-AN 12. (65) 1.29-MO 23. (66) 2.134-QHDR 42; 2.382 to 385-So 2.32 to 36. (67) 1.182-Ch 9. (68) 4.318-QG 1.57. Model, 2.308-So 1.13. (69) 2.336-So 1.35. (70) 2.31-CL 28. (71) 2.382 to 385-So 2.32 to 36. (72) 3.102-VM 14. (73) 2.306-So 1.11. (74) ib. (75) 1.237-SAC 37. (76) 4,437-QG 3.34. (77) 2.352-So 2.6. (78) 4,210-Fr Eus; 4,391-QG 2.60; 4.436-QG 3.34. (79) 4.437-QG 3.34. (80) 1.235-SAC

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36; 2.134-QHDR 42. (81) 1.152-LA 3.59. (82) 2.218-P 21. (83) 2.134-QHDR 42. (84) 2,438-A 36. (85) 2.195-P 1. (86) 1.262-QDPI 23. (87) 1.133-LA 3.31. (88) 2.31-CL 28. (89) 1.153-LA 3.60; 2.222-P 25. (90) 1.483-E 36. (91) 1.389-AN 12. (92) 2.325-So 1.25; 2.154-QHDR 60. (93) 2.307-So 1.12. (94) 2.137-QHDR 45; 2.120-QHDR 27. (95) 1.29-MO 33. (96) 4.251-FrJD 752. (97) 2.246-MN 5. (98) 1.102-LA 2.21, 22; of Perfect Man, 1.154-LA 3.61. (99) 2.217-P 20. (100) 2.411-A 15. (101 2.134-QHDR 42. (102) 2.308-So 1.14. (103) 1.429-PN 15. (104) of human mind, 2.298-So 1.5. (105) 1.29-MO 33. (106) 1.271-QDPI 31; 2.222-P 25. (107) 2.387-So 2.38. (108) 2.309, 310-So 1.14, 15. (109) 1.389-AN 12. (110) 2.44-MA 1; 2.154-QHDR 60; 2.325-So 1.25. (111) 1.182-Ch 9. (112) MA 14. (113) 2.339-So 1.39. (114) 1.29-MO 33. (115) 4.431-QG 3.27. (116) 2.53-MA 9; 2.56-MA 18. (117) 1.133-LA 3.31. (118) 2.119-QHDR 26. (119) 1.389-AN 12. (120) 2.139-QHDR 48. (121) 4.43-MI 16. (122) 1.389-AN 12. (123) 1.221-SAC 18. (124) 3.362-LS. (125) 1.187-GC 14. (126) 1.239-SAC 39. (127) 3.158-DC 20. (128) 3.174-DC 33. (129) 2.216-P 20; 1.92-LA 2.14; 1.459-E 8; 1.465-E 15. (130) 4.315-QG 1.57; 4.439-3.39. (131) 1.358-QDI. 16. (132) 2.208 (P 13); 1.77-LA 1.30; 2.424 to 426-A 27, 28; 3.94-VM 8; 1.356-QDI 15. (133) 1.239-SAC 39. (134) 2.37-CL 34. (135) 1.459-E 8. For Father and Mother, see 2.216-P 20; 1.465-E 15, 16; 1.467-E 19; 1.279 QDPI 40. (136) 1.182-Ch 9. (137) 2.420-A 24. (138) 2.421 to 423-A 24, 25. (139) 2.219-P 22. (140) 2.49-MA 7. (141) 1.187-GC 14. (142) 2.240-MN 2. (143) 2.213-P 18. (144) 2.239-MN 2; 2.37-CL 34; 1.77-LA 1.30. (145) 1.239-SAC 39.

CHAPTER IV—COSMOLOGY.

(1) 1.76-LA 1.29. (2) 1.418-PN 3. (3) 1.16-MO 19. (4) 2.364-So 2.16; 2.232-P 33; 3.471-PP 11; 3.99-VM 12; 3.195-M 2.5. (5) 1.4-MO 4. (6) 1.18-MO 21. (7) 2.33-CL 30; 2.120-QHDR 27. (8) 3.190-M 2.1. (9) 1.279-QDPI 40. (10) 3.217-ASI 6. (11) 1.18-MO 21. (12) 2.389-So 2.40. (13) 1.43-MO 51. (14) 1.42-MO 49. (15) 1.45-MO 54. (16) 1.53-LA 1.1. (17) 1.45-MO 53. (18) 1.30-MO 35. (19) 2.137-QHDR 45. (20) 4.410-QG 3.3. (21) 2.300-So 1.6. (22) 2.316-So 1-19. (23) 2.8-CL 8. (24) 3.16-VM 12. (25) 4.260 Fr MM. (26) 3.190-M 2.1. (27) 3.37-CL 34. (28) 4.51-MI 21. (29) 2.37-CL 34; 2.237-P 38; 2.339-So 1.39. (30) 1.419-PN 4. (31) 1.331-G 2 to 4. (32) 1.419-PN 4. (33) 3.190-M 2.1. (34) 3.16-VM 12. (35) 1.419-PN 4. (36) 1.332-G 4. (37) 1.331-G 2. (38) 1.332-G 4. (39) 1.428-PN 14. (40) 2.37-CL 34. (41) 2.38-CL 35. (42) 3.190-M 2.1. (43) 4.334-QG 1.92. (44) 2.381-So 1.31. (45) 1.333-G 4. (46) 4.334-QG 1.92. (47) 1.186-GC 13. (48) 3.262-LS 7. (49) 4.452-QG 3.38. (50) 1.186-GC 13. (51) 1.186-GC 13; 1.267-QDPI 27; 1.284-QDPI 46; 1.285-QDPI 47; 1.346-QDI 4.

CHAPTER V—PSYCHOLOGY AND ETHICS.

(1) 1.262-QDPI 22. (2) 2.139-QHDR 48. (3) 2.137-QHDR 45. (4) 4.268-Fr MM. (5) 2.114-QHDR 22. (6) 1.70, 137-LA 1.22; 3.38. (7) 1.86, 87-LA 27. (8) 1.262-QDPI 23. (9) 3.100-VM 13. (10) 1.139-LA 3.40. (11) 4.321-QG 1.75; 1.384-AN 7.

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(12) 1.284-QDPI 46. (13) 2.19-CL 19. (14) 2.6-CL 7. (15) 1.277-QDPI 39. (16) 1.167-LA 379. (17) 1.470-E 22; 2.252-MN 10. (18) 1.174-LA 3.89. (19) 1.65-LA 1.16. (20) 2.297 to 299-So 1.5. (21) 3.347-LS 2. (22 1.49-MO 59. (23) 4.264-Fr MM. (24) 1.88-LA 2.8. (25) 2.428-PN 13. (26) 1.351-QDI 10. (27) 1.18-MO 21. (28) 1.76-LA 1.29. (29) 1.167-LA 3.79. (30) 1.165-LA 3.76. (31) 1.215-SAC 10; 1.387-AN 10 to 12; 1.301-AN 14. (32) 1.232-SAC 32. (33 1.384-AN 6. (34) 1.387-AN 10. (35) 1.384-AN 7. (36) 1.402-AN 27. (37) •1.22-MO 25; 1.400-AN 25; 1.363-QDI 22; 4.179-Ca 46. (38) 1.332-G 3; 2.320-So 1.21. (39) 1.24-MO 26; 1.77-LA 1.31; 2.202-P7; 2.406-A 10. (40) 1.400-AN 25. (41) 1.107-LA 2.26. (42) 2.446-A 41. (43) 1.350-QDI 7. (44) 1.514-S 13; 1.158-LA 3.68; 2.87-MA 36; 2.448-A 44. (45) 1.514-S 13. (46) 1.394-AN 17. (47) 1.24-MO 26. (48) 1.372-QDI; 1.429-PN 16. (49) 1.394-AN 17. (50) 2.137-QHDR 45. (51) 1.148-LA 3.53. (52) 2.328-So 1.28. (53) 2.446-A 41. (54) 1.126-LA 3.22. (55) 3.531-QRDH 17. (56) 2.49-MA 6; 2.72-MA 24; 2.204-P 8; 2.247-MN 6; 2.320-So 1.21. (57) 2.254-MN 12; 3.462 to 464-PP 4 to 6; 467-PP 8. (58) 1.445-PN 35. (59) 4.244-FrJD 370. (60) 1.467-E 18. (61) 1.452-PN 42. (62) 1.358-QDI 16; 1.415-AN 40. (63) 2.309-So 1.14; 4.266-Fr MM. (64) 2.247-MN 6. (65) 1.296-PC 12. (66) 2.391-So 2.42. (67) 2.249-MN 8; 1.374-QDI 34. (68) 4.263-Fr MM. (69) 4.247-FrJD 693; 1.26-MO 26; 1.225-SAC 23. (70) 4.244-FrJD 370. (71) 2.139-QHDR 48. (72) 4.265-FrMM. See "Flight." (73) 3.456-R 2. (74) 1.467-E 18. (75) 1.235-SAC 36. (76) 2.210-P 15. (77) 1.236-SAC 36. (78) 2.117-QHDR 24. (79 1.374-QDI 34. (80) 1.426-PN 12; 3.540-QRDH 22. (81) 2.338-So 1.37. (82) 2.324-So 1.23. (83) 2.388-So 1.39. (84) 2.385-So 2.35. (85) 3.464-PP 6. (86) 1.442-PN 30, 31. (87) 2.133-QHDR 41; 2.138-QHDR 46. (88) 2.173-CEG 14. (89) 1.145, 146-LA 3.49, 50; 2.243-MN 3; 2.403-A 7. (90) 1.391-AN 14. (91) 1.24-MO 27. (92) 4.248-FrJD 748. (93) 1.429-PN 15. (94) 1.52-LA 1.1. (95) 1.450-PN 40. (96) 3.468-PP8. (97) 3.478-PP 16. (98) 2.291-MN 48; 2.320-So 1.21; 2.385-So. 2.35; 4.47-MI. 19. (99) 2.82-NA 31. (100) 1.411-AN 37. (101) 1.405-AN 30; 1.413-AN 39. (102) 4.247-FrJD 693. (103) 2.452-A 46. (104) 1.238-SAC 38. (105) 1.237-SAC 37. (106) 2.355-SAC 37. (107) 3.529-QRDH 16. (108) 2.318-So 1.20. (109) 2.351 So 2.5. (110) 1.246-QDPI 7. (111) 4.246-FrJD 563. (112) 1.250-QDPI 11; 2.90-MA 38; 2.202-P 7. (113) 2.90-MA 38. (114) 1.252-QDPI 14. (115) 1.494-E 48. (116) 1.493-E 47. (117) 2.452-A 46. (118) 1.22-MO 25; 400-AN 25; 363-QDI 22; 4.179-Ca. 46. (119) 2.451-A 46. (120) 2.67-MA 19. (121) 1.438-PN 25. (122) 2.218-P 21. (123) 2.38-CL 35. (124) 3.302-HP 10. (125) 1.255-QDPI 16. (126) 2.267-MN 27. (127) 2.351-So 2.5. (128) 2.451 to 2-A 46. (129) 2.452-A 46. (130) 2.399-A 3. (131) 2.401, 2-A 5. (132) 2.407-A 11. (133) 2.453-Jo 1; 3.464-PP 6. (134) 4.216 Fr Eus. (135) 3.511-QRDH 3. (136) 3.382-LS 2; 4.268-Fr MM. (137) 4.263-Fr MM. (138) 2.451-A 46. (139) 4.275-Fr Ant. (140) 2.195-P 1. (141) 3.275-DO. (142) 1.101-LA 2.21. (143) 1.103-LA 2.22. (144) 1.484-E 37. (145) 4.93-Fl 19. (146) 2.294-So 1.2. (147) 3.275-Do 4. (148) 4.337-QG 1.99. (149) 4.257-FrJD 788; 4.293-QG 1.17. (150) 3.159-

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DC 20. (151) 1.505-S 4. (152) 2.286-MN 42. (153) 2.287-MN 43. (154) 2.286-MN 42. (155) 2.323-So 1.23. (156) 2.356-So 2.9. (157) 2.482-Jo 24. (158) 2.75-MA 26. (159) 1.375-QDI 34. (160) 1.374-QDI 34. See "Flight" or "Refuge." (161) ib. (162) 2.161-CEG 4. (163) 3.252, 3-MM 3, 4. (164) 3.254 sqq-M 3.5. (165) 4.275-Fr Ant 123. (166) 4.297-QG 1.26. (167) 3.347-LS 2. (168) 1.49-MO 59. (169) 4.298-QG 1.28. (170) 3.34-LS 1. (171) 1.231-SAC 30. (172) 2.463-Jo 9. (173) 1.237, 8--SAC 37, 8. (174) 2.122, 3-QHDR 29. (175) 4.16-VC 9. (176) 2.23-CL 23. (177) 3.506-540-QRDH; 2.453-508-Jo. (178) 2.416-A 19. (179) 4.166-Ca 39. (180) 4.161-Ca 36; 4.161-Ca 31. (181) 3.193-M 2.3; 4.168-Ca 40. (182) 4.135-Ca 23. (183) 4.128-Ca 20; 174-Ca 43. (184) 4.168-Ca 40. (185) 2.366-So 2.18. (186) 3.423-453-H. (187) 1.42-MO 49. (188) 3.491, 6-Ex 6, 9. (189) 1.277-QDPI 39; 1.388-AN 12. (190) 2.349-So 2.4. (191) 3.496-Ex 9. (192) 3.491-Ex 6. (193) 2.168-CEG 11. (194) 1.338-G 16; 1.277-QDPI 39. (195) 2.418-A22. (196) 3.154-DC 16. (197) 1.391-AN 14. (198) 2.161-CEG 4. (199) 3.175-C 1; 4.449-QG 3.48. (200) 1.414-AN 40. (201) 4.450-QG 3.48. (202) 1.472-E 24; 1.479-E 32. (203) 1.298-PC 16; 2.308-So 1.14. (204) 2.478-Jo 21. (205) 3.175-C 1. (206) 1.391-AN 14.

CHAPTER VI—CHURCH AND SACRAMENTS.

(1) 3.290-DO 9. (2) 1.428-PN 13. (3) 1.493-E 47. (4) 2.64-MA 17; 2.247-MN 5. (5) 2.279-MN 37. (6) 4.269-Fr MM. (7) 2.291-MN 47. (8) 2.295-So 1.2. (9) 2.317-So 1.19. Also: 2.344, 368, 406, 417, 484, 3.161, 201, 217, 242, 246, 248, 266, 267, 283, 347, 4.296, 31ɔ. Or, So 1.43, 2.20, A 10, 20; Jo 20; DC 22, M 12, ASI 6; Sa 11, 14, 16; DO 1, 2, 4; LS 2; QG 1.25, 57. (10) 2.62, 3-MA 16. (11) 2.451, 2-A 46. (12) 3.158-DC 20; 3.79-VM 4; 2.63-MA 16. (13) 3.79-VM 4. (14) 4.217-Fr Eus. (15) 2.390-So 2.41. (16) 2.387-So 2.38. (17) 3.523-QRDH 12; 4.1-VC 1; 4.219-Fr Eus. (18) 4.217-Fr Eus. (19) 3.392-CP 1. (20) 2.451, 2-A 46. (21) 4.160-Ca 36. (22) 3.110-VM 21. (23) 2.191-CEG 30. (24) 3.287-DO 7. (25) 4.168-Ca 40. (26) 2.251-MN 10. (27) 3.239-Sa 8. (28) 2.120-QHDR 27. (29) 1.238-SAC 38. (30) 3.217-ASI 6. (31) 2.471-Jo 16. (32) LA 2.15. (33) LA 3.43. (34) QDI 34. (35) LA 2.21. (36) 1.346-QDI 4; 2.185-CEG 24; 2.334-So 1.35; 2.347-So 2.2; 2.356-So 2.10; 3.459-PP 2. (37) 1.469-E 20. (38) 2.74-MA 25. (39) 1.199-GC 28; 1.284-QDPI 46; 1.440-PN 27; 1.449-PN 39; 2.65-MA 17; 2.114-QHDR 22; 2.263-MN 21; 2.309-So 1.14; 2.323-So 1.23; 2.339-So 1.39; 2.349-So 2.4; 3.104-VM 16; 3.170-DC 30; 3.389-LS 10; 3.284-DO 4; 3.354-LS 6; 3.483-PP 20; 4.256-FrJD 782; 4.433-QG 3.27; 4.451-QG 3.48. (40) 1.449-PN 39. (41) 1.199-GC 28. (42) 1.284-QDPI 46. (43) 1.440-PN 27. (44) 2.263-MN 21; 2.309-So 1.14. (45) 2.309-So 1.14. (46) 2.323-So 1.23. (47) 2.339-So 1.39. (48) 2.349-So 2.4. (49) 3.104-VM 16. (50) 3.170-DC 30. (51) 3.319-LS 10. (52) 3.234-DO 4. (53) 3.354-LS 6. (54) 4.433-QG 3.27. (55) 4.256-FrJD 782. (56) 2.383-So 2.33. (57) 2.388-So 2.39. (58) 2.248-MN 6. (59) 2.452-A 46. (60) 2.452-A 46. (61) 3.264-LS 9. (62) 4.224-Fr Eus. (63) 3.362-LS. (64) 4.224-Fr Eus; 2.113-QHDR 22; 2.118-QHDR 26;

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1.258-QDPI 19. (65) 1.429-PN 15. (66) 1.221-SAC 18; 1.431-PN 18; 1.433-PN 19. (67) 1.162-LA 3.72; See Heb. vi. 13. (68) 1.161-LA 3.72; 1.433-PN 19; 1.163-LA 3.73; 1.228-SAC 28. (69) 4.278-Fr Fr K. (70) 4.280-Fr Fr K. (71) 4.278-Fr Fr K. (72) 4.277-Fr Fr K; 4.455-QG 3.5. (73) 4.456-QG 3.48. (74) 3.175-C 1; 4.449-QG 3.48. (75) 3.176-C 1. (76) 3.176-C 1. (77) 4.456-QG 3.48. (78) 2.349-So 2.4. (79) 3.290-DO 9. (80) 3.494-Ex 8.

CHAPTER VII—EUCHARIST.

(1) 2.161-CEG 4; 2.346-So 2.2; 3.540-QRDH 22. (2) 2.161-CEG 4; 2.346-So 2.2; 3.540-QRDH 22. (3) 1.450-PN 41. (4) 1.449-PN 39. (5) 1.450-PN 41. (6) 452-PN 42. (7) 1.151-PN 41. (8) 1.450-PN 40. (9) 1.451-PN 41. (10) 1.452-PN 42. (11) 4.20-VC 11; 1.128-LA 2.26. (12) 2.373-376-So 2.24-26. (13) 1.374-QDI 34. (14) 1.374, 5-QDI 34, 5. (15) 2.387-So 2.38. (16) 2.376-So 2.27. (17) 2.377-So 2.28. (18) 2.386-So 2.37. (19) 4.309-QG 1.1. (20) 4.418-QG 3.9. (21) 1.153-LA 3.61, 2. (22) 2.222-P 25 and then 1.271-QDPI 31. (23) 2.294 (So 1.2). (24) 1.149-LA 3.55. (25) 3.484-PP 20. (26) 1.102-LA 2.22. (27) 1.47-MO 56; 1.102-LA 2.22; 1.271-QDPI 31; 2.289-MN 44; 2.374-So 2.25; 3.117-VM 25. (28) 3.117-VM 25. (29) 2.289-MN 4. (30) 1.47-MO 56. (31) 2.235-P 36; 3.239-Sa 8. (32) 3.239-Sa 8. (33) 3.239-PP 20. (34) 1.484-E 37.

CHAPTER VIII—SPIRIT—INSPIRATION.

(1) 2.420-A 23. (2) 1.7-MO 8. (3) 1.61-LA 1.13. (4) 4.309-QG 1.50. (5) 1.333, 4-G 5, 6. (6) 2.299-So 1.6. (7) 1.348-QDI 6. (8) 2.347-So 2.2. (9) 2.356-So 2.9. (10) 1.335-G 7. (11) 1.334-G 6. (12) 2.118-QHDR 25. (13) 4.233, 234-Fr Eus 13. (14) 2.354-So 2.8. (15) 3.229-ASI 15. (16) 3.104-VM 17. (17) 3.106-VM 18. (18) 2.357-So 2.10. (19) 2.343-So 1.43. (20) 2.326-So 1.26. (21) 2.216-P 20. (22) 3.190-M 2.1. (23) 1.200-GC 29. (24) 1.514-S 13. (25) 4.274-Fr Ant 82. (26) 2.323-S 23. (27) 1.40-MO 47. (28) 4.309-QG 1. (29) 4.418-QG 3.9. (30) 1.182-Ch 9. (31) 2.50-MA 7. (32) 2.68-MA 20. Then 3.190-M 1.39. (33) 3.366-LS. (34) Same as (29). (35) 2.384-So 2.34. (36) 2.50-MA 7. (37) 1.9-MO 9. (38) 1.361-QDI 20. (39) 1.88-LA 2.8. (40) 1.182-Ch 9; 1.244-QDPI 5. (41) 2.245-MN 5. (42) 2.62-MA 15. (43) 2.300-So 1.6; 2.323-So 1.23. (44) 2.345-So 2.1. (45) 1.20-MO 23; 1.74-LA 1.27; 1.129-LA 3.26; 1.140-LA 3.42; 2.200-P 5; 1.483-E 36. (46) 2.377-So 2.29. (47) 4.20-VC 11. (48) 4.300-QG 1.50. (49) 4.281-Fr Fr K. (50) 3.221-ASI 7. (51) 2.420-A 24. (52) 3.402-CP 8. (53) 3.384-So 2.34. (54) 4.281-Fr Fr K. (55) 2.146-QHDR 52. (56) 3.221-ASI 7. (57) 2.85-MA 34. (58) 1.22-MO 24. (59) 3.160-LS. (60) 2.380-So 2.31. (61) 1.134-LA 3.33. (62) 2.265-MA 17. (63) 1.208-QDHP 3. (64) 1.129-LA 3.27. (65) 1.19-MO 23.

CHAPTER IX—ESCHATOLOGY.

(1) 4.34-MI 10. (2) 4.41-MI 15. (3) 4.59-MI 17. (4) 1.60-MI 17. (5) 4.61-MI 17. (6) 3.461-PP 4. (7) 2.423-A 26. (8) 4.135-Ca 23. (9) 3.475-484-PP 14-20. (10) 3.494 to 9-Ex 8, 9. (11) Geschichtliche Dartsellung der Judisch-Christlichen Phil-

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osophie, in Drummond's "Jewish Messiah" 271, 330, 347. (12) 216, 7-P 20. (13) 4.329-QG 1.85. (14) 1.421-PN 6. (15) 4.267-Fr MM. (16) 2.205-P 10. (17) 1.80-LA 1.32; 2.385-So 2.35; 4.293-QG 1.16. (18) 1.99-LA 1.19. (19) 4.307-QG 1.45. (20) 2.34-CL 31. (21) 1.22-MO 25. (22) 1.94-LA 2.15. (23) 1.101-LA 2.21. (24) 2.300-So 1.6. (25) 4.307-QG 1.45. (26) 2.214-P 18. (27) 4.243-FrJD 349. (28) 1.39-LA 3.40. (29) 2.401-A 4, 5. (30) 2.399-A 3. (31) 4.271-Fr MM. (32) ib. (33) 4.251-FrJD 751. (34) 4.328-QG 1.83. (35) 3.461-PP 4. (36) 4.354-QG 2.31. (37) 4.353-QG 2.31. (38) 1.74-LA 1.26. (39) 2.285-MN 41. (40) 2.285-MN 41. (41) 1.369-QDI 28. (42) 1.278-QDPI 39; 1.308-PC 28. (43) 1.386-AN 9. (44) 1.278-QDPI 39. (45) 2.195-P 1. (46) 3.494-Ex 8. (47) 1.277, 8-QDPI 39. (48) 2.211-P 16. (49) 3.485-Ex 1. (50) 3.486-Ex 2. (51) 3.487-Ex 3. (52) 3.488-Ex 4. (53) 3.489-Ex 5. (54) 3.490-Ex 6. (55) 3.491-Ex 6. (56) 3.482-Ex 7. (57) 2.169-CEG 11. (58) 1.386-AN 9. (59) 3.473-PP 12. (60) 3.479-PP 17. (61) 3.491-Ex 6. (62) 1.338-G 12. (63) 3.414-F 3. (64) 1.180-Ch 6. (65) Mangey Ed. iv. 140, QG. (66) 1.423-AN 9. (67) 1.24-MO 27. (68) 4.248-FrJD 748. (69) 1.52-LA 11. (70) 4.51-M 1.21. (71) 4.410-QG 33. (72) 2.299, 300-So 1.6. (73) 2.388-So 2.39. (74) 2.387-So 2.38. (75) 2.390-So 2.41. (76) 2.388-So 2.40. (77) 1.423-PN 9. (78) 1.45-MO 54.

CHAPTER X.—SALVATION.

(1) 1.50-MO 60; 1.94-LA 2.15; 1.114-LA 3.14; 1.222-SAC 222; 1.314-PC 35, from Dt. xxxii. 15; 1.489-E 42; 2.48-MA 5; 2.249-MN 7; 2.424-A 27; 2.432-A 32; 2.493-Jo 32; 4.20-VC 11; 4.105-Ca 4; 4.280-Fr Fr K; 4.391-QG 2.60. (2) 2.214--P 18. (3) 1.102-LA 2.21; 2.214-P 18. (4) 1.370-QDI 29; 2.20-CL 20; 1.223-SAC 19; 2.105-QHDR 12. (5) 2.424-A 27. (6) 4.391-QG 2.60. (7) 1.394-AN 17. (8) 2.227-P 29. (9) 4.263-FrMM, 4.354-QG 2.13. (10) 2.308-So 1.13. (11) 1.165-LA 3.76. (12) 1.252-QDPI 14. (13) 1.445-PN 35. (14) 2.120-QHDR 27. (15) 3.222-ASI 9. (16) 3.228-ASI 14. (17) 3.287-DO 7. (18) 2.370-So 2.21. (19) 3.191-M 2.1. (20) 3.198-M 2.8. (21) 2.395-So 2.45. (22) 3.289-DO 9. (23) 2.283-MN 40. (24) 4.391-QG 2.60. (25) 2.105-QHDR 12. (26) 2.381-So 2.31. (27) 1.387, to 389-AN 10 to 12. (28) 1.384-AN 6. (29) 1.215-SAC 10; 1.391-AN 14. (30) 1.232-SAC 32. (31) 2.453-Jo 1. (32) 1.386-AN 10. (33) 1.216-SAC 12; 1.387-AN 11. (34) 1.387-AN 10. (35) 1.388-AN 11. (36) 4.431-QG 3.27. (37) 2.424-A 27. (38) 2.341 So 1, 40 to 42. (39) 3.216-ASI 5. (40) 2.433-A 33. (41) 2.436-A 36. (42) 2.431-A 32. (43) 1.465-E 16. (44) 2.74-MA 25. (45) 3.201-M 12. (46) 2.377-So 2.28. (47) 3.102-VM 14. (48) 2.322-So 1.22. (49) 2.377-So 2.28. (50) 3.477, 478-PP 16. (51) 3.494-Ex 8, 9. (52) 2.381-So 2.31. (53) 3.516-QRDH 7. (54) 1.2122-MO 24, 25. (55) 1.24, 52-MO 27, LA 1.1. (56) 1.19-MO 23. (57) 3.532-QRDH 18. (58) 1.46-MO 54. (59) 2.34-CL 31. (60) 1.22-MO 25. (61) 1.101-LA 2.21. (62) 3.239-Sa 8. (63) 3.484-PP 20. (64) 2.299, 300-So 1.6. (65) 4.410-QG 3.3. (66) 1.43-MO 51. (67) 1.262-QDPI 22.

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